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[Moore, Thomas]

TRAVELS

OF AN

IRISH GENTLEMAN

IN

SEARCH OF A RELIGION.

WITH

Notes and Illustrations,

BY THE

EDITOR OF "CAPTAIN ROCK'S MEMOIRS."

The Poet Moore, Thomas.

Philadelphia:

CAREY, LEA & BLANCHARD.

1833.

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THE EDITOR OF "CAPTAIN ROCK'S MEMOIRS."

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TRAVELS

OF

AN IRISH GENTLEMAN

IN

SEARCH OF A RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

Soliloquy up two pair of stairs.—Motives for embracing Protestantism.—Providential accident.—Anti-popery Catechism.—Broadside of Epithets.—Final resolution.

It was on the evening of the 16th day of April, 1829,—the very day on which the memorable news reached Dublin of the Royal Assent having been given to the Catholic Relief Bill,—that, as I was sitting alone in my chambers, up two pair of stairs, Trinity College, being myself one of the everlasting "Seven Millions" thus liberated, I started suddenly, after a few moments' reverie, from my chair, and taking a stride across the room, as if to make trial of a pair of emancipated legs, exclaimed, "Thank God! I may now, if I like, turn Protestant."

The reader will see, at once, in this short speech, the entire course of my thoughts at that moment of exultation. I found myself free, not only from the penalties attached to being a Catholic, but from the point of honour which had till then debarred me from being any thing else. Not that I had, indeed, ever much paused to consider in what the faith I professed differed from others. I was as yet young,—but just entered into my twenty-first year. The relations of my creed with this world had been of too stirring a nature to leave me much thought

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to bestow on its concernments with the next; nor was I yet so much of the degenerate Greek in my tastes as to sit discussing what was the precise colour of the light of Mount Thabor when that "light of life," liberty was itself to be struggled for.

I had, therefore, little other notion of Protestants than as a set of gentlemanlike heretics, somewhat scanty in creed, but in all things else rich and prosperous, and governing Ireland, according to their will and pleasure, by right of some certain Thirty-nine Articles, of which I had not yet clearly ascertained whether they were Articles of War or of Religion.

The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, though myself one of them, I could not help regarding as a race of obsolete and obstinate religionists, robbed of every thing but (what was, perhaps, least worth preserving) their Creed, and justifying the charge brought against them of being unfit for freedom, by having so long and so unresistingly submitted to be slaves. In short, I felt—as many other high-spirited young Papists must have felt before me—that I had been not only enslaved, but degraded by belonging to such a race; and though, had adversity still frowned on our faith, I would have clung to it to the last, and died fighting for Transubstantiation and the Pope with the best, I was not sorry to be saved the doubtful glory of such martyrdom; and much as I rejoiced at the release of my fellow-sufferers from thraldom, rejoiced still more at the prospect of my own release from *them*.

While such was the state of my feelings with respect to the *political* bearings of my creed, I saw no reason, on regarding it in a religious point of view, to feel much more satisfied with it. The dark pictures I had seen so invariably drawn, in Protestant pamphlets and sermons, of the religious tenets of Popery, had sunk mortifyingly into my mind; and when I heard eminent, learned, and, in the repute of the world, estimable men representing the faith which I had had the misfortune to inherit as a system of damnable idolatry, whose doctrines had not merely the tendency, but the prepense design, to encourage imposture, perjury, assassination, and all other monstrous crimes, I was already prepared, by the opinions which I had myself formed of my brother Papists, to be but too willing a recipient of such accusations against

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them from others. Though, as man and as citizen, I rose indignantly against these charges, yet as Catholic I quailed inwardly under the fear that they were but too true.

In this state of mind it was that I had long looked forward to the great measure of Emancipation, both as the closing of that old, bitter, and hereditary contest in which the spiritual part of the question had been made subordinate to the temporal, and, more particularly, as a release for myself from that scrupulous point of honour which had hitherto kept me wedded, "for better, for worse," to Popery.

The reader has now been put in full possession of the meaning of that abrupt exclamation which, as I have said, burst from me on the evening of the 16th of April, in my room up two pair of stairs, Trinity College,—"Thank God! I may now, if I like, turn Protestant." No sooner had this pithy sentence broke from my lips, than I resumed my seat and plunged again into reverie. The college clock was, I recollect, striking eight, at the time this absorption of my thinking faculties commenced, and the same orthodox clock had tolled the tenth hour before the question shall I, or shall I not, turn Protestant?" was in any fair train for decision. Even then, it was owing very much to an accident, which some good people would call providential, that Popery did not—for that evening, at least—maintain her ground. On the shelf of the bookcase near me lay a few stray pamphlets, towards which, in the midst of my meditations, I, almost unconsciously, put forth my hand, and taking the first that presented itself, found that I had got hold of a small tract, in the form of a Catechism, against Popery, published near a century ago, and called "A Protestant's Resolution, showing his Reasons why he will not be a Papist, &c. &c." On opening the leaves of this tract, the first sentences that met my eyes were as follow:—

"Q.—What was there in the Romish Religion that occasioned Protestants to separate themselves from it?

"A.—In that it was a superstitious, idolatrous, damnable, bloody, traitorous, blind, blasphemous religion."

This broadside of epithets at once settled the whole matter. What gentleman, indeed, thought I, could abide to remain longer in a faith to which, with any show of justice, such hard and indigestible terms could be applied?

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Accordingly, up sprung I, for the second time, from my now *un*easy chair, and brandishing aloft my clenched hand, as if in defiance of the Abomination of the Seven Hills, exclaimed, as I again paced about my chamber,—with something of the ascendency strut already perceptible,—"I *will* be a Protestant."

CHAPTER II.

Sir Godfrey Kneller and St. Peter.—Varieties of Protestantism.—Resolved to choose the best.—Adieu to Popish abominations.

I WAS now pretty much in the situation of Sir Godfrey Kneller, in the strange dream attributed to him, when having arrived, as he thought, at the entrance of heaven, he found St. Peter there, in his capacity of gate-keeper, inquiring the name and the religion of the different candidates for admission that presented themselves, and, still as each gave his answer, directing them to the seats allotted to their respective creeds. "And pray, sir," said the Saint, addressing Sir Godfrey in his turn, "what religion may you be of?"—"Why, truly, sir," said Sir Godfrey, "I am of no religion."—"Oh, then, sir," replied St. Peter, "you will be so good as to go in and take your seat where you please."

In much the same independent state of creed did I find myself at this crisis,—having before me the whole variegated field of Protestantism, with power to choose on what part of its wide surface I should settle. But though thus free, and with "a charter like the wind, to blow where'er I pleased,"—my position on, the whole, was hardly what could be called comfortable. It was like that of a transmigrating spirit in the critical interval between its leaving one body and taking possession of another; or rather like a certain ill-translated work, of which some wit has remarked that it had been taken *out* of one language without being put *into* any other.

Though as ignorant, at that time of my life, on all matters of religion, as any young gentleman brought up

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at a University—even when meant for holy orders—could well be, I had, by nature, very strong devotional feelings, and from childhood had knelt nightly to my prayers with a degree of trust in God's mercy and grace at which a professor of the Five Points would have been not a little scandalized. It was, therefore, with perfect conscientiousness and sincerity that I now addressed myself to the task of choosing a new religion; and having made up my mind that Protestantism was to be the creed of my choice, resolved also that it should be Protestantism of the best and most approved description.

But how was this to be managed? In a sermon which I once heard preached by a Fellow of our University, there was an observation put strongly by the preacher which I now called to mind for my guidance in the inquiry I was about to institute. "In like manner (said the preacher) as streams are always clearest near their source, so the first ages of Christianity will be found to have been the purest." Taking this obvious position for granted, the deduction was of course evident that to the doctrines and practice of the early ages of the Church I must have recourse to find the true doctrines and practice of Protestantism:—the changes which afterwards took place, as well in the tenets as the observances of Christians, having been, as the preacher told us, the cause of "that corrupt system of religion which has been entailed on the world under the odious name of Popery." To ascend, therefore, at once to that Aurora of our faith, and imbue myself thoroughly with the opinions and doctrines of those upon whom its light first shone, was, I could not doubt, the sole effectual mode of attaining the great object I had in view, —that of making myself a Protestant according to the purest and most orthodox pattern.

To the classical branch of the course taught in our University, I had devoted a good deal of attention. My acquaintance, therefore, with Latin and Greek, was sufficiently familiar to imbolden me to enter on the study of the Fathers in their own languages; while, besides the access which I was allowed, as graduate, to the library of our College, I had, also, through another channel, all the best editions of those holy writers placed at my command. Of the Scriptures, my knowledge had, hitherto, been scanty; but the plan I now adopted was, to make

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my study of the sacred volume concurrent with this inquiry into the writings of its first expounders; so that the text and the comment might, by such juxta-position, shed light on each other.

Behold me, then, with a zeal, whose sincerity, at least, deserved some success, sitting down, dictionary in hand, to my task of self conversion; having secured one great step towards the adoption of a new creed in the feeling little short of contempt with which I looked back upon the old one. Bidding a glad, and, as I trusted, eternal adieu to the long catalogue of Popish abominations, to wit: Transubstantiation, Relics, Fasting, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, &c., &c.,—I opened my mind, a willing initiate, to those enlightening truths, which were now, from a purer quarter of the heavens, to dawn upon me.

CHAPTER III.

Begin with the First Century—Pope St. Clement.—St. Ignatius.—Real Presence.—Heresy of the Docetæ.—Tradition.—Relics of Saints.

THERE is among those who consider the Catholic Church to have, in the course of time, fallen from its first purity, a considerable difference of opinion as to the period at which this apostacy commenced; some writers having been disposed to extend the golden period of the Church to as late a period as the seventh or eighth century,* while, by others, her virgin era is confined within

* One of those who allow the "beaux jours de l'Eglise" (as he calls them) to have extended so far, was the celebrated Huguenot minister, Claude,—celebrated, among other things, for the signal defeat which he sustained from the learned authors of the Perpétuité de la Foi. Of this great champion of Protestantism, so lauded in his day, it is curious to see what was the private opinion entertained by one who lived in his society, and is known not to have been unfriendly to his sect or its cause:—"Cet homme-la (says Longuerue) étoit bon à gouverner chez Madame la Marechale de Schomberg, où il regnoit souverainement; mais il n'étoit point savant. Parlez-moi, pour le savoir, d'Aubertin, de Daillé, de Blondel."

According to the Book of Homilies, "the Christian Religion was, unto the time of Constantine (A. D. 324) most pure and indeed golden."

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far less liberal limits.* My great object, however, being, as much as possible, "*integros* accedere fontes," I saw that the higher up, near the very source, I began my researches, the better, and, accordingly, with the writings of those five holy men who are distinguished by the title of Apostolical Fathers, as having all of them conversed with the Apostles or their disciples, I now commenced my studies.

Great, then, was my surprise,—not unaccompanied, I own, by a slight twinge of remorse,—when, in the person of one of these simple, apostolical writers, I found that I had popped upon a Pope—an actual Pope!—being the third Bishop, after St. Peter, of that very Church of Rome which I was now about to desert for her modern rival. This primitive occupant of the See of Rome was St. Clement, one of those fellow-labourers of St. Paul, whose "names are written in the Book of Life;" and it was by St. Peter himself, as Tertullian tells us, that he had been ordained to be his successor. This proof of the antiquity and apostolical source of the Papal authority startled me not a little. "A Pope! and ordained by St. Peter!" exclaimed I, as I commenced reading the volume: "now, 'by St. Peter's Church, and Peter too,' this much surpriseth me." There was, however, still enough of the Papist lingering in my heart to make me turn over the pages of Pope St. Clement with peculiar respect; and I could not but see that, even in those simple, unpolemic times, when the actual exercise of authority could be so little called for, the jurisdiction of the See of Peter was fully acknowledged.

A schism, or, as St. Clement himself describes it, "a foul and unholy sedition,"† having broken out in the Church of Corinth, an appeal was made to the Church of Rome for its interference and advice, and the Epistle which this Holy Father addressed to the Corinthians in answer, is confessedly one of the most interesting monuments of Ecclesiastical Literature that have descended to us.

The next of these primitive followers of the Apostles

* Priestley, for instance, to suit his purpose, considers the period till the death of Adrian (A. D. 138) as comprising the pure and virgin age of the Church.

† Μιαραν και ανοσιον στασιν.

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whose writings engaged my attention, was St. Ignatius, the immediate successor of the Apostle Peter in the See of Antioch. This holy man was, by his contemporaries, called Theophorus, or the God-borne, from a general notion that he was the child mentioned by Matthew and Mark, as having been taken up by our Saviour in his arms, and set in the midst of his disciples. It was, therefore, with a feeling of reverent curiosity that I approached his volume; and, much as I had been, in my ignorance, astonished, to find a Pope, or Bishop of Rome, presiding,* at such a period, over the whole Christian world, I was now infinitely more astounded and puzzled by what met my eyes in the pages of Ignatius, a writer, nursed, as it were, in the very cradle of our faith, and who, as one of the first that followed in the footsteps of the Divine Guide, was among the last from whom I could have expected a doctrine so essentially Popish,—the invention, as I had always been led to suppose, of the darkest ages, and maintained in mockery, as well of reason, as of the senses,—the doctrine, in short, of a real, corporal Presence in the Eucharist!

In speaking of the Docetæ, or Phantasticks, a sect of heretics who held that Christ was but, in *appearance*, Man,—a mere semblance or phantasm of humanity,—Ignatius says, "They stay away from the Eucharist and from prayer, *because they will not acknowledge the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that flesh which suffered for our sins.*" Now, when it is considered that the leading doctrine of the Docetæ was, that the body assumed by Christ was but *apparent*, there cannot be a doubt that the particular opinion of the orthodox to which they opposed themselves, was that which held the presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist to be *real*. It is evident that a *figurative* or unsubstantial presence, such as Protestants maintain, would in no degree have offended their anti-corporeal notions; but, on the contrary, indeed, would have fallen in with that wholly spiritual view of Christ's nature which had led these heretics to deny the possibility of his incarnation.

This perplexing and irresistible proof, on the very

* The Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Romans, which was written in the first century, is addressed "to the Church that *presides* (προκαθηται) in the country of the Romans."

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threshold of my inquiry, of the existence of such a belief among the orthodox of the first century, threw me, I own, into a state of unspeakable amazement. I looked at the words again—rubbed my eyes, and again consulted my lexicon. But I had made no mistake;—there it was, in black and white, stark staring Popery. I had found language of a similar import, respecting the Eucharist, in other passages of the same Father;—in the Epistle to the Philadelphians, and in that also to the Romans. But had there existed only these notices, his precise opinion upon the subject might have been doubtful; and, as in many other cases, where the Fathers have happened to express themselves allegorically or obscurely, would have remained matter of controversy. But, taken, as I have already said, with reference to the Docetæ, and representing the belief of those heretics, respecting the Eucharist, as wholly irreconcilable with the creed of the orthodox,* this passage in the Epistle to the Smyrnæans, can admit of but one conclusion, namely, that the orthodox Christians of that day saw in the consecrated bread and wine, not any mere memorial, representation, type, or emblem,—not any such figurative substitute for the body of our Lord,—but his own real substance, corporally present and orally manducated.

To find myself thus back again in the very depths of Popery, after having so fondly fancied that I had emerged from them for ever, was, it must be owned, not a little trying to a neophyte's zeal;—nor had I well recovered from my surprise and perplexity at this sample of Popish *doctrine*, when, on turning to an account of the martyrdom of this same Father, I fell upon a no less glaring specimen of Popish *practice*. Ignatius, as is well known to all readers of Martyrology, was delivered up to be de-

* "It seems highly probable, that Communicants, in St. Ignatius's days, were obliged expressly to acknowledge the Eucharist to be Christ's body and blood, by answering 'Amen' at the delivery of the Sacramental body and blood, as well as by joining in prayer to God that he would make them so; and, because the Docetæ could not do this, therefore they absented themselves from the Christian Assemblies."—*Johnson.*

That this express acknowledgment of the Real Presence was required of communicants, in the first ages of the Church, appears from all the ancient Liturgies, and we have St. Augustin's authority that such was the meaning attached to the "Amen," in his times:—"Habet magnam vocem Christi sanguis in terra cum, eo accepto, ab omnibus gentibus respondetur Amen."—*Contra Faust.*

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voured by lions in the amphitheatre at Rome. After the victim had been despatched, the faithful deacons who had accompanied him on his journey gathered up, as we are told, the few bones which the wild beasts had spared, and carrying them back to Antioch, deposited them there religiously in a shrine, round which annually, on the day of his martyrdom, the Faithful assembled, and, in memory of his self-devotion, kept vigil around his relics!

It should have been mentioned, also,—to make the matter still worse,—that, when on his way through Asia to the scene of his sufferings, this illustrious Father, in exhorting the Churches to be on their guard against Heresy, impressed earnestly upon them "*to hold fast by the Traditions of the Apostles*;"—thus sanctioning that twofold Rule of Faith, the Unwritten as well as the written Word, which, by all good Protestants, is repudiated as one of the falsest of the false doctrines of Popery!

Marvellous to me, most marvellous, were these discoveries;—a Pope, Relics of Saints, Apostolical Traditions, and a Corporal Eucharist, all in the First Age of the Church!—who *could* have thought it?

CHAPTER IV.

Visions of Hermas.—Weekly Fasting.—Good Works.—Rector of Ballymudragget.—Rector no Faster.—Comparison between the Rector and Hermas.

After turning over the two Epistles that remain of St. Barnabas and St. Polycarp, and learning but little, towards the object of my search, from either, it was with some pleasure I opened the pages of the pious and fanciful Hermas, and among his Visions, which breathe all the simplicity of an apostolic age, forgot myself, for some hours, as in a fairy tale. His recollections of his early love—his seeing the heavens open, as he knelt one day praying in a meadow, and beholding the maid whom he had loved looking out of the clouds to salute him, saying, "Good day, Hermas!"—his account of the various visions in which "the Church of God" had appeared to him; now,

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in the shape of an aged matron, reading;—now, as a young maiden, clad all in white, and having a mitre on her head, over which the long hair fell shining;—through all these innocent and (as they were thought at the time) inspired fancies,* I wandered with the good Father, in a sort of drowsy reverie, even as though I were myself the dreamer of his visions.

It was not till, in the course of my reading, I came to that part of his work called Precepts and Similitudes,—which were, as he says, revealed to him by his guardian angel, in the shape of a Shepherd,—that I was awakened to a recollection of the immediate object of my studies, and awakened, also, alas! to find myself once more in Popish company. This Father, be it recollected, was one of those distinguished Christians to whom St. Paul sends salutations in the Epistle to the Romans, and among the moral precepts which in this work he represents his angel to have communicated to him is the following:—"The first thing we have to do is to observe the commandment of God. If afterwards a man wishes to add thereunto any *good work*, such as *fasting*, he will receive the greater recompense."

Here again was sheer Popery, both in doctrine and practice—Satisfaction to God by Good Works, and one of those Good Works, Fasting!

To this latter observance, I had from my childhood entertained a peculiar aversion; and it was, therefore, with pain, as well as wonder, I now made the discovery that, in rigour of fasting, the early Christians outwent even our strictest Romanists. The Fast preparatory to Easter Day, which was one of total abstinence, was by some pious persons continued for the space of forty successive hours; and those who laugh at Papists now for fasting twice a week would have had equal grounds for laughing at the Primitive Christians, who, by the Apostolic Canons, were enjoined to a similar practice;—the only difference being that the appointed days of fasting, which were then Wednesday and Friday, are now Friday and

* Origen quotes the Shepherd as a work divinely inspired; and Rufinus expressly styles it a "Book of the New Testament."—*Expos. in Symb. Apostol.* Whiston, too, with his usual ready belief in all that suits his purpose, considers the Shepherd to be a distinct inspired Book of itself, which "comes directly from our Saviour as the Apocalypse does."

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Saturday.* Just before Easter, indeed, these latter days were also observed, as fast-days, and for this reason, that "in those days the bridegroom was taken away."† And this was the age to which I had been sent for emancipation from Popery!

These ancient Christians, too, contrived to make the Good Work of Fasting subservient to another practice, reputed also among Good Works, alms-giving; the same Apostolic Canons informing us that whatever had been saved by abstinence was always laid out in relieving the necessities of the poor.‡

How vividly now, as I sat leaning my elbow on the pages of "the Shepherd," did I call to mind what my own feelings had been, more than once, at my poor father's table, when it has happened that our rich neighbour, the Rector of Ballymudragget, has invited himself to dine with us, on a Friday, or other fast-day; and while his Reverence has sat feasting on the flesh and fowl provided purposely for his regale, I have found myself forced to put up with that sorry fare which "*Hopdance* cried for in Poor Tom's belly—two white herrings;"§ and still more mortifying, had to bear the smile of consequential pity with which the Rector looked round on his superstitious fellow-diners,—blessing his stars, no doubt, that the glorious Reformation had put all these matters on so much more civilized and gentlemanlike a footing.

Little did I then, for my consolation, know that I was borne out by the Apostolic Canons in my starvation; and when I now pondered over these things, and compared my fat friend, the Rector, with the simple Hermas, who can wonder if a slight doubt came over my mind, whe-

* The learned Bishop Beveridge, who supposes these Canons to have been framed by the disciples of the Apostles about the end of the second century, considers the Fasts therein enjoined to have been of apostolic institution.—*Codex Canon. Ec. &c.* Mosheim, too, allows that "those who affirm that, in the time of the Apostles, or soon after, the fourth and sixth days of the week were observed as Fasts, are not, it must be acknowledged, destitute of specious arguments in favour of their opinion."

† "But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast."—*Matthew*, ix. 15. St. Jerom, who pronounces Lent to be an apostolic institution, attributes the same high origin to the Saturday's Fast.

‡ Την περισσειαν της νηστειας πενησιν επιχορηγειν.—*Ap. Const.* Lib. 5.

§ Shakspeare's Lear.

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ther,—as far, at least, as a world to come is concerned, —it might not be safer to fast with the friend of St. Paul, than to feast with the Rector of Ballymudragget.

CHAPTER V.

Second Century.—St. Justin the Martyr.—Transubstantiation.—St. Irenæus.—Papal Supremacy.—Sacrifice of the Mass.—Unwritten Tradition.—Old Man of the Sea.

THUS far my progress in Protestantism had not been very rapid. I was determined, however, not to be lightly turned aside from my purpose; so, taking leave of the simple writers of the apostolic age, I launched boldly into the sacred literature of the Second Century, hoping to find, on my way, somewhat more of the Thirty-nine Articles, and somewhat less of Popery. I had but a short way, however, descended the stream, when I found my sails taken aback by the following passage in St. Justin the Martyr,—a man described by an ancient bishop as being near to the Apostles both in time and in virtue: "Nor do we take these gifts (in the Eucharist) as *common bread* and *common drink;* but as Jesus Christ, our Saviour, made man by the word of God, took flesh and blood for our salvation, so in the same manner we have been taught that the *food* which has been blessed by prayer, and by which our blood and flesh, *in the change*, are nourished, *is the flesh and blood of that Jesus incarnate.*"—Apol. 1.

The assertion of a real, corporal Presence by St. Ignatius had more than sufficiently startled me; but here was a still stronger case, a belief in the change of the elements, in actual Transubstantiation,—and this on the part of a Saint so illustrious as St. Justin! Verily, they who could send a Christian youth to learn Protestant doctrine of teachers like these, must plead guilty to the charge either of grossly deceiving him or being ignorant themselves.

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We have already seen that the Primacy of the Roman See was, in the only case that called for an appeal to it, acknowledged in the first age of the Church; and I now found, in the second age, the same claim practically and universally recognised, both in the acts of the Church and in the writings of her chief pastors. How little could I have anticipated such a discovery!—the "Great Harlot," the "Mother of the fornications and abominations of the earth" (as so often I had heard our college preacher style the Papacy,) standing, in the pure morning of Christianity, supreme and unrivalled!

Accustomed, indeed, as I had long been to consider the papal jurisdiction as a usurpation of the dark ages, the clear proofs I now saw of the chain of succession by which its title is carried up and fixed fast in that "Rock" on which the Church itself is built, convinced and confounded me; nor, though myself but an "embryon immature" of Protestantism, could I help sympathizing most heartily with all that a full-fledged follower of that faith must feel, on reading the following strong attestation of the Papal Primacy in St. Irenæus,—a writer, be it recollected, so near to the apostolical times as to have had for his instructor in Christianity a disciple of St. John the Evangelist.

"We can enumerate those bishops who were appointed by the Apostles and their successors down to ourselves, none of whom taught or even knew the wild opinions of these men (heretics) . . . However, as it would be tedious to enumerate the whole list of successions, I shall confine myself to that of *Rome*, the *greatest and most ancient and most illustrious Church*, founded by the glorious Apostles Peter and Paul; receiving from them her doctrine, which was announced to all men, and *which, through the succession of her bishops, is come down to us.* Thus we confound *all those who, through evil designs, or vain-glory, or perverseness, teach what they ought not;* for, to this Church, *on account of its Superior Headship*, every other must have recourse, that is, the faithful of all countries; in which Church has been preserved the doctrine delivered by the Apostles."—*Adv. Hæres. Lib.* 3.

Of Irenæus it must be, in truth, acknowledged that, though so apostolically educated, and graced by Photius

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with the title of "the Divine Irenæus,"* he would have made but a faithless subscriber to the Thirty-nine Articles. For only hear how this Saint speaks of the Sacrifice of the Mass,†—that "blasphemous fable," as the Thirty-First of those Articles terms it:—"Likewise, he declared the cup to be his blood, and taught the new Oblation of the New Testament, which oblation the Church receiving from the Apostles offers it to God over all the earth." Again:—"Therefore, the offering of the Church which the Lord directed to be made over all the world was deemed a pure sacrifice before God and received by Him."‡

Consistently with his belief of a Sacrifice in the Eucharist, this Father maintained also, with Justin and Ignatius, the Real Presence of Christ's body and blood in that Sacrament; pronouncing it a miracle such as could not be supposed to exist, without admitting the Divinity of Him who had instituted it. "How," he asks, "can these heretics (those who denied that Christ was the Son of God) prove that the bread over which the words of thanksgiving have been pronounced *is* the body of their Lord and the cup his blood, while they do not admit that he is the Son, that is, the Word of the Creator of the World?"

To the same heretics, who, from their views of the corruption of matter, could not reconcile to themselves the doctrine of a resurrection of the body, he makes use of an argument founded, in like manner, on his belief of the reality of Christ's Presence and the transubstantiation of the elements:—"When (says he) the mingled chalice and the broken bread receive the word of God,

* Του Θεοφορου Ειρηναιου.

† Anciently called the Sacrifice of the New Testament, or Catholic Sacrifice (Θυσια καθολικη.—*Chrysostom. Serm. de Cruce et Latrone,*) the word Mass not having been introduced till about the time of St. Ambrose.

‡ See also Justin. Dial. cum Tryphon.

"The Centuriators of Magdeburgh,—whose zeal and acuteness displayed in the Protestant cause are well known—have been constrained reluctantly to own that the existence of the Sacrifice of the New Law stands recorded in the early monuments of Christianity; and on the passage of St. Irenæus here referred to, they express their acknowledgment in terms of indignation."—*Coombes's Essence of Religious Controversy.*

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they *become* the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ,* by which the substance of our flesh is increased and strengthened. How then can they pretend, that this flesh is not susceptible of eternal life which is nourished by the body and blood of the Lord, and is his member?"

On the subject of Unwritten Tradition,—that contested source of so much of the doctrine, practice, and power of Rome, this Father's testimony brings with it double weight, inasmuch as he not only asserts, in all his writings, the high authority of Tradition, but was himself one of the earliest and brightest links in that chain of oral delivery which has descended to the Church of Rome from the apostolic age. Referring to his own master, Polycarp, who had been the disciple of St. John the Evangelist,† he says—"Polycarp always taught these things, which he had learned from the Apostles, which he delivered to the Church, and which alone are true." In a fragment of another of his writings there occurs a most impressive and interesting passage to the same effect.—Addressing a heretic, named Florinus, who had adopted the errors of the Valentinians, he says—"Those opinions the Presbyters before us, who also conversed with the Apostles, have not delivered to you. For I saw you, when I was very young, in the Lower Asia with Polycarp. . . . I better remember the affairs of that time than those which have lately happened; the things which we learn in our childhood growing up with the soul and uniting themselves to it. Insomuch that I can tell the place in which the Blessed Polycarp sat and taught, and his going out and coming in; and the manner of his life and the form of his person; and the discourses he made to the people, and how he related his conversation with St. John, and others who had seen the

* There is yet a stronger passage to this purpose in one of those Fragments attributed to Irenæus, which were published in 1715 by Dr. Pfaff, from manuscripts in the King of Sardinia's library;—where, in describing the ceremonies of the Sacrifice, it is said that the Holy Spirit is invoked that he may *make* the bread the body of Christ and the cup the blood of Christ. Much doubt, however, has been thrown upon the genuineness of these Fragments, both by Maffei, who objected to them on their first appearance, and by the remarks of the ever judicious Lardner afterwards.

† By many also supposed to have been the Angel of the Church of Smyrna, to whom the Epistle in the second chapter of the Book of Revelation was directed to be sent.

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Lord; and how he related their sayings, and what he had heard from them concerning the Lord; both concerning his miracles and his doctrine, as he had received them from the eye-witnesses of the Word of Life: all which Polycarp related agreeably to the Scriptures. These things I then, through the mercy of God toward me, diligently heard and attended to, recording them not on paper, but upon my heart; and, through the grace of God, I continually renew my remembrance of them."

Could we now summon to earth the shade of this holy Father,—this Saint, so "nourished up in the words of faith and of good doctrine,"—with what face can we imagine a Protestant, an upstart of the Reformation, to stand forth, in contradiction to so orthodox a spirit, and pronounce the Unwritten Word of the Catholic Church to be but an inheritance of imposture, the jurisdiction of the See of St. Peter a rank usurpation, and a sacrifice of the Holy Mass "a blasphemous fable?"

If any thing more were wanting to show the deep sense which this Father entertained of the reverence due to the authority and traditions of the Church, we should find it in the few following passages from his writings:—"*In explaining the Scriptures, Christians are to attend to the Pastors of the Church*, who, by the ordinance of God, have received the inheritance of truth, with the succession of their Sees." "The tongues of nations vary, *but the virtue of tradition is one and the same every where;* nor do the churches in Germany believe or teach differently from those in Spain, Gaul, the East, Egypt or Lybia." "*Supposing the Apostles had not left us the Scriptures, ought we not still to have followed the ordinance of Tradition*, which they consigned to those to whom they committed the Churches? *It is this ordinance of Tradition which many nations of barbarians, believing in Christ, follow without the use of letters or ink.*"—Adv. Hær. Lib. 4.

It will easily be believed that, at the close of this long day's studies, I felt utterly disheartened and wearied with my pursuit. I had now found sanctioned by the authority of the Church's earliest champions,—some of them men who "had the preaching of the Apostles still sounding in their ears,"—six no less Popish points of faith and observance than—1. The acknowledgment of a

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Sovereign Pontiff; * 2. A Reverence due to Relics; 3. Satisfaction to God by fasting, alms-deeds, &c.; 4. The authority of Tradition; 5. A Corporeal Presence in the Eucharist; and 6. The Sacrifice of the Mass. Who can wonder if, after all this, I despaired of ridding myself of Popery? Heaving a heavy sigh, as I closed my ponderous folios, and with a sort of oppressed sensation as if the Pope were himself bodily on my back, I went to bed feeling much as Sinbad the sailor would have done, if, after having shaken off, as he thought, the troublesome little old Man of the Sea, he felt the legs of the creature again fastening round his neck.

CHAPTER VI.

Making the sign of the Cross.—Tertullian.—Veneration of Images.—Prayers for the Dead.—Determination to find Protestantism somewhere.

On the following morning I rose,—thanks to the recruiting power of sleep,—somewhat recovered from the rebuffs of the few preceding days, and feeling, on the whole, as well and *Protestant* as could be expected. At least, my horror of returning to Popery was as strong as ever; though my chances of becoming a good Protestant, —or, indeed, finding out what a good Protestant was,— had become all but desperate. I was, therefore, pretty much in the "unhoused condition" of that sect of heretics, called Basilidians, who described themselves as being no longer Jews, but still not yet Christians.

Of the disagreeable, but apostolic, practice of weekly fasting I have already spoken; but there was another Popish custom, against which, as a badge of anile superstition, I still more indignantly rebelled;—and this was the practice of making the sign of the Cross on the forehead, after grace, at meals. The feeling of shame with which, in my youth, I used to perform this overt act of Po-

* We find this very title of "Sovereign Pontiff" given to the Bishop of Rome by no less high and ancient an authority than Tertullian.

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pery, in the presence of Protestants, I shall never forget.* Nor do I appear to have been, in this feeling, at all singular among my fellow Catholics, as I have observed that, ever since the two Religions have come to be on dining terms with each other, the practice has been almost wholly discontinued; insomuch that he must be a primitive Catholic, indeed, who, in the present times, would venture to *bless himself* (as the operation is called) in good company.

"This, at least," said I to myself, pettishly, as I opened a huge volume of Tertullian,—"this monk's trick, at least, can assuredly never have received any sanction from the orthodox Christians of the early Church." The words had scarcely passed my lips, when, on turning to this Father's account of the modes and customs of his fellow Christians, I read, to my astoundment, as follows: —"We sign ourselves with the sign of the cross in the forehead, whenever we go from home or return, when we put on our clothes or our shoes, when we go to the bath, or sit down to meat, when we light our candles, when we lie down and when we sit." Here was crossing enough, God knows,—crossing enough, in a single day of Tertullian's, to serve the most particular old Catholic lady in all Ireland for a week.

There now remained little else to fill up the measure of what are called Popish superstitions but Veneration of Images and Prayers for the Dead; and to both these I found the same eminent Father lending his sanction. In speaking of the wife who survives her husband, he desires that she should "pray for her husband's soul, solicit for him refreshment, and offer on the anniversaries of his death." In another place, too, we find him tracing this practice to apostolical traditions, not enforced, as he says, by the positive words of Scripture, but delivered down from his predecessors;—thus not only upholding the papistical usage of praying for the Dead, but deriving his authority for it through that equally papistical channel, Tradition!

* It appears from occasional rebukes, in the Fathers, on this subject, that a similar shame of being seen to make the sign of the cross was not unknown even among ancient Catholics.—"Let us not be ashamed (says St. Cyril) to confess Him who was crucified; let the σφραγις (the sign of the cross) be confidently made upon the forehead with the finger."

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With respect to Images, the use of which, as memorials, was derived also by the early Christians from tradition, a passing sentence of Tertullian, in which he mentions as though it were of common occurrence, the pictures of Christ upon the communion-cups,* is a sufficient proof that the use of images had been, at the time he wrote, long prevalent. There appears little doubt, indeed, that Reformed eyes would have been shocked by such "idolatrous" representations, not only in the second century of Christianity, but most probably from its very earliest periods.† From the same fondness for religious memorials, we find St. Clement of Alexandria, in the same century, recommending to Christians to wear the figure of a fish engraved on their rings,—the fish being a symbol of the name of Christ.‡

I had now, in addition to the six "plague spots of Popery," which I had already, in this her virgin period, counted on the fair face of the Church, to number also the three following,—viz. 7, Prayers for the Dead.—8. Veneration of Images. And 9. Crossing, without end! Assuredly, any one less determined than myself to find Protestantism *somewhere*, would have given up the chase in despair. But I was still resolved to persevere. I had bid too solemn a farewell to Popery to allow of my revoking the step now with a good grace. Besides, it is but fair to confess,—what I ought perhaps to have confessed somewhat sooner,—that, in addition to a very conscientious desire of exchanging my religion for a better, I had also some motives of a more mundane, and, I may add, tender nature, which had considerable weight in determining me to become a Protestant as soon as possible;—motives which, though of that class usually styled private and delicate, I shall, in some future chapter, venture to communicate to the reader.

* In a curious work on the Eucharistic Cups of the ancient Christians (by Doughty), the author has collected, with much industry, an account of the different materials of which these vessels were formed, from wood up to crystal, onyx, &c. and among the images upon them he particularly specifies that of the Crucified Saviour, and the good Shepherd carrying the lamb on his shoulders.

† In the year 814, when Leo, the Armenian, assembled several bishops in order to induce them to break images, Euthymius, metropolitan of Sardis, thus addressed him:—"Know, sire, that for 800 years, and more since Christ came into the world, he has been painted and adored in his image. Who will be bold enough to abolish so ancient a tradition?"

‡ Clem. Alexand. Opera curâ Potteri, p. 288.

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CHAPTER VII.

Great dearth of Protestantism.—Try Third and Fourth Centuries.—St. Cyprian.—Origen.—Primacy of St. Peter and the Pope.—St. Jerome.—List of Popish abominations.

THOUGH I had now pretty well convinced myself that if, as Protestants assure us, the pure original of their Creed is to be found in the first ages, it must be found there in some such modest and unobtrusive shape as that of a certain tragic author's "moon behind a cloud," I did not, even yet, allow myself to despair of catching, at least, a glimpse of this retired luminary. I therefore continued my inquest; and, summoning the Fathers of the two following centuries before me, resolved to try whether, by dint of close cross-questioning, I should be able to detect a single Protestant among them. But no: the answer of all was the same,—they belonged to the one Catholic Church; to that Church, says St. Cyprian, "which, imbrued with the light of the Lord, sends forth her rays over the whole earth." When asked to name the centre from which this Catholic light radiates, the same Saint points to Rome, to the chair of Peter, and "*the principal Church* (as he says emphatically) whence the Sacerdotal Unity took its rise."—*Ep.* 55.

Thus foiled, I flew to Origen, with somewhat, perhaps, of a hope that, being but a questionable Saint, he might prove a good Protestant. But my success was no better; I found him as eager for the Primacy of St. Peter and the Pope as his brethren, and, on the subject of exclusive salvation, as Catholic as need be: "Let no one," he says, "persuade, let no one deceive himself; out of this house, that is, *out of the Church, there is no salvation.*" —Hom. 3. in Josue. By St. Jerome this monopoly of heaven was, I saw, asserted with no less vigour:—*I know that the Church is founded upon Peter*, that is, on a Rock. Whoever eateth the Lamb out of that house, is a profane man. Whoever is not in the Ark shall perish by the flood."—*Ep.* 14. *ad Dam.* To a wight, like me, just tottering upon the edge of said Ark,—if not already off,—this metaphoric hint was comfortable!

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On all those Popish points of belief and practice which, as I have shown, were sanctioned by the Fathers of the two First Centuries, I found the doctrine of those of the Third and Fourth precisely the same; only put forth more copiously in detail, and enforced by richer stores of ingenuity and learning. To bring forward, indeed, all the testimonies that might, but too triumphantly, be cited to prove that, in those times, Christianity and Popery were convertible terms, would be to transcribe the greater part of the writings of the four first ages, from the simple Hermas down to the learned and rhetorical St. Chrysostom. I shall therefore content myself with adding to what I have already said of the Primitive times, a few specimens of the doctrine held by the leading Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, on some of the principal points at issue between the Church of Rome and her opponents.

AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.—TRADITION.

*Tertullian.**—"To know what the Apostles taught, that is, what Christ revealed to them, *recourse must be had to the Churches* which they founded, and which they instructed by word of mouth and by their Epistles."—*De Præscrip. c.* 21.

"Of these (certain practices in the administration of Baptism) and other usages, if you ask for the written authority of the Scriptures, none will be found. *They spring from Tradition, which practice has confirmed and obedience ratified.*"—De Corona Militis, c. 3, 4. "*To the Scriptures, therefore, an appeal must not be made* . . . . . the question is, to whom was that doctrine committed by which we are made Christians? for where this doctrine and this faith shall be found, there will be the truth of the Scriptures and their expositions, and of all Christian Traditions."—*De Præscrip. c.* 19.

Origen.—"As there are many who think they believe what Christ taught, and some of these differ from others, it becomes necessary that all should profess that doctrine which came down from the Apostles, and now

* This Father, having embraced Christianity about the year 185, and died in 216, is usually claimed as belonging alike to both Centuries.

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continues *in the Church. That alone is truth which in nothing differs from ecclesiastical and apostolical tradition.*"—Præf. lib. 1. de Princip. "As often as the heretics produce the Canonical Scriptures, in which every Christian agrees and believes, they seem to say, Lo! with us is the word of truth. *But to them* (the heretics) *we cannot give credit, nor depart from the first and ecclesiastical tradition. We can believe only as the succeeding Churches of God have delivered.*"—Tract. 29 in Mat.

Lactantius.—"The Catholic Church alone retains the true worship. This is the source of truth, this is the dwelling of faith."—*Inst. l.* 4. *c.* 30.

Cyprian.—"It is easy to minds that are religious and simple to lay aside error, and to discover truth: *for if we turn to the source of Divine Tradition*, error ceases."*—*Ep.* 63.

Eusebius.—"Which truths, *though they be consigned to the Sacred Writings, are still, in a fuller manner, confirmed by the Traditions of the Catholic Church*, which Church is diffused over all the earth. This *unwritten Tradition confirms and seals the testimonies of the Holy Scriptures.*"—Dem. Evang. lib. 1.

Basil.—"Among the dogmas of the Church there are some contained in the Scriptures and some come from Tradition; *but both have an equal efficacy in the promotion of piety.*"—De Spirit. Sanct. c. 27. "*In my opinion, it is apostolical to adhere to unwritten Traditions.*" —Ibid c. 29. "*It is the common aim of all the enemies of sound doctrine, to shake the solidity of our faith in Christ by annulling apostolical Tradition . . . . they dismiss the unwritten testimony of the Fathers as a thing of no value.*"—Ib. c. 10.

Epiphanius.—"*We must look also to Tradition; for all things cannot be learned from the Scriptures.*"

Chrysostom.—"Hence it is manifest that they (the Apostles) did not deliver all things by means of Epistles, but that they made many communications without

* On this passage St. Augustin remarks:—The advice which St. Cyprian gives to recur to the Tradition of the Apostles, and thence to bring down the series to our own times, is excellent, and manifestly to be followed."—*De Bapt. contra Donatist. l.* 5. *c.* 26.

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writing; and that both are equally entitled to credence. *It is a tradition, ask no farther.*"—Hom. 4. in 2 Thess.*

PRIMACY OF THE SUCCESSORS OF ST. PETER.

Some of the strong testimonies, on this point, of St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, &c. have already been laid before the reader.

Cyprian.—Nevertheless that he (Christ) might clearly establish unity, he formed *one See*, and by his authority fixed the origin of this same unity by beginning from one. The other apostles were accordingly, like Peter, invested with an equal participation of honour and power; but the beginning is built on unity. *The Primacy is given to Peter, that there might be exhibited one Church of Christ and one See.*"—De Unitat. Eccles.

Jerom.—(In a letter to Pope Damasus.) "I am following no other than Christ, united to the communion of your Holiness, that is, to the Chair of Peter. I know that the Church is founded upon that Rock."—*Ep.* 14. *ad Damasum.* "I cease not to proclaim, *He is mine who remains united to the Chair of Peter.*"

Chrysostom.—"For what reason did Christ shed his blood? Certainly, to gain those sheep *the care of which he committed to Peter and his successors.*"

SATISFACTION TO GOD BY PENITENTIAL WORKS.

Cyprian.—"The Lord must be invoked; *must be appeased by our satisfaction.*"—De Lapsis. Before Him let the soul bow down: *to Him let our sorrow make satisfaction:* . . . . By fasting, by tears, and by moaning, let us appease, as he himself admonishes, his indignation." *Ib.* "*Purge away your sins by works of justice, and by alms-deeds which may save the soul.* God can pardon: he can turn away his judgment. He can pardon the penitent who implores forgiveness; he can accept for him the supplications of others; or should *he move him more by his own works of satisfaction, and thus disarm his*

* On the passage of St. Paul:—"Therefore, brethren, stand fast and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle."

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anger, the Lord will repair his strength, whereby he shall be invigorated anew."*—*Ib.*

Ambrose.—"Let Christ see thee weeping, that he may say, 'Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.' (Mat. v. 4.) Therefore, did he immediately pardon Peter, because he wept bitterly; and if thou weep in like manner, Christ will look on thee, and thy sin will be cancelled. . . . . Let no consideration then withhold thee from *doing penance.* In this imitate the Saints, and let their tears be the measure of thy own."—*De Pœnit. c.* 10.

PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

Cyril of Jerusalem.—"Then (in the Sacrifice of the Mass) *we pray for the Holy Fathers and the Bishops that are dead; and, in short, for all those who are departed this life in our communion;* believing that the souls of those, for whom the prayers are offered, receive very great relief, while this holy and tremendous victim lies upon the altar."—*Catech. Mystag.* 5.

Ambrose.—(In his Funeral Oration on the two Emperors, Valentinians.) "Blessed shall you both be if my prayers can avail any thing. No day shall pass, in which I will not mention you with honour; no night in which you shall not partake of my prayers. In all my oblations I will remember you."

Epiphanius.—"*There is nothing more opportune, nothing more to be admired, than the rite which directs the names of the Dead to be mentioned.* They are aided

* See Bossuet's defence of the language of St. Cyprian, on this subject, in answer to M. Jurieu. "*Il faut, dit-il* (Saint Cyprien,) *satisfaire a Dieu pour ses peches;* mais il faut aussi *que la satisfaction soit recue par notre Seigneur.* Il faut croire que tout ce qu'on fait n'a rien de parfait ni de suffisant en soi-même puisqu'après tout, quoique nous fassions, nous ne sommes que de serviteurs inutiles et que nous m'avons pas même à nous glorifier du pu que nous faisons, puisque, comme nous l'avons déjà rapporte tout nous vient de Dieu par Jésus Christ, en qui seul nous avons accès auprès du Père."—*Avertissemens aux Protestants.* Such is the much misrepresented doctrine of Catholics on this point.

The language of St. Augustin respecting this doctrine is fully as *Popish* as that of St. Cyprian:—"It is not enough," he says, "that the sinner change his ways, and depart from his evil works, unless by penitential sorrow, by humble tears, by the sacrifice of a contrite heart, and by alms-deeds, he *make satisfaction to God* for what he has committed."—*Homil.* 1. *T.* x.

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by the Prayer which is offered for them, though it may not cancel all their faults.—We mention both the just and sinners, in order that for the latter we may obtain mercy."—*Hær.* 55.

Chrysostom.—"It is not in vain that oblations and prayers are offered and alms given for the dead. So has the Divine Spirit ordained that we might mutually assist one another."—*Homil.* 21. "*Not without reason was it ordained by the Apostles, that in celebrating the Sacred Mysteries, the Dead should be remembered;* for they well knew what advantage would thence be derived to them."—*Homil.* 3. *in Epist. ad Philip.* *

INVOCATION OF SAINTS AND OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

Origen.—"We may be allowed to say of all the holy men who have quitted this life, retaining their charity towards those whom they left behind, that they are anxious for their salvation, and that they assist them by their prayers and their meditation with God. For it is written in the books of the Maccabees, 'This is Jeremiah, the prophet of God, who always prays for the people.'—*Lib.* 3. *in Cant. Cantic.* 'I will fall down on my knees, and, *not presuming, on account of my crimes, to present my prayer to God, I will invoke all the saints to my assistance.* O ye saints of Heaven, I beseech you with a sorrow full of sighs and tears, fall at the feet of the Lord of Mercies for me, a miserable sinner.'"—*Lib.* 2. *de Job.*

Cyprian.—"Let us be mindful of one another in our prayers; with one mind, and with one heart, in this world, and in the next, let us always pray, with mutual charity relieving our sufferings and afflictions. And may

* On the subject of Prayers for the Dead there occurs an interesting passage in St. Ephrem of Edessa, which appears to have escaped the notice of my friend. In a work entitled his Testament, this pious Father thus speaks:—My brethren, come to me, and prepare me for my departure, for my strength is wholly gone. Go along with me in psalms and in your prayers, and please constantly to make oblations for me. When the thirtieth day shall be completed, then remember me; for the dead are helped by the offerings of the living.—Now listen with patience to what I shall mention from the Scriptures. Moses bestowed blessings on Reuben after the third generation (Deut. xxxiii. 6.;) but, if the Dead are not aided, why was he blessed? Again, if they be insensible, hear what the Apostle says:—'If the dead rise not again at all, why are they then baptized for them? (1 Cor. xv. 29.")

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the charity of him who, by the divine favour, shall first depart hence, still persevere before the Lord; may his prayer, for our brethren and sisters, be unceasing."—*De Habitu Virg.*

Athanasius.—"Hear now, oh daughter of David; incline thine ear to our prayers.—We raise our cry to thee. *Remember us, oh! most Holy Virgin*, and for the feeble eulogiums we give thee, grant us great gifts from the treasures of thy graces, thou, who art full of grace.—Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee. *Queen and Mother of God, intercede for us.*"—Serm. in Annunt.

Hilary.—"According to Raphael, speaking to Tobias, there are Angels who serve before the face of God, and who convey to him the prayers of the suppliant.—It is not the character of the Deity that stands in need of this intercession, but our infirmity does.—God is not ignorant of any thing that we do: but the weakness of man, to supplicate and to obtain, calls for the ministry of the spiritual intercession."—*In Psalm* 129.

Basil.—(In celebrating the Feast of the Forty Martyrs) "O ye common guardians of the human race, co-operators in our prayers, most powerful messengers, stars of the world and flowers of Churches, let us join our prayers with yours."—*Hom.* 19.

Ephrem of Edessa.—"I entreat you, oh! Holy Martyrs, who have suffered so much for the Lord, that you would intercede for us with Him that he bestow his grace on us."—*Encom. in SS. Mart.* "*We fly to thy patronage, Holy mother of God:* protect and guard us, under the wings of thy mercy and kindness.—Most merciful God, *through the intercession of the most Blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the Angels, and of all the Saints*, show pity to thy creature."—*Serm. de Laud. B. Mar. Virg.*

RELICS AND IMAGES.

Hilary.—"The holy blood of the Martyrs is every where received, and their venerable bones daily bear witness."—*L. contra Constant.*

Basil.—"If any one suffer for the name of Christ, his remains are deemed precious: and, if any one touch the bones of a martyr, he becomes partaker, in some degree,

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of his holiness, on account of the grace residing in them. Wherefore, "precious in the sight of God is the death of his Saints.' "—*Serm. in Psalm* 115.

"I receive the Apostles, the Prophets and the Martyrs. I invoke them to pray for me, and that by their intercession God may be merciful to me and forgive my transgressions. For this reason I revere and honour their images, especially since we are taught to do so by the tradition of the holy Apostles; and so far from these being forbidden us, they appear in our Churches."—*Ep. ad Julian.**

Ephrem.—"The grace of the divine spirit, which works miracles in them, ever resides in the Relics of the Saints."—*In Encom. omnium Mart.*

Ambrose.—"I honour, therefore, in the body of the Martyr, the wounds that he received in the name of Christ; I honour the memory of that virtue which shall never die; I honour those ashes which the confession of Faith has consecrated; I honour in them the seeds of eternity: I honour that body which has taught me to love the Lord, and not to fear death for his sake."—*Serm.* 55.

Chrysostom.—"Next to the power of speech, the monuments of Saints are best adapted, when we look on them, to excite us to the imitation of their virtues. Here when any one stands, he feels himself seized by a certain force; the view of the shrine strikes on his heart; he is affected, as if he that there lies were present, and offered up prayers for him. Thus does a certain alacrity come over him, and, changed almost to another man, he quits the place. For this reason, then, has God left us the Remains of the Saints."—*Lib. contra Gent.* "That which neither riches nor gold can effect, the Relics of Martyrs can. Gold never dispelled diseases nor warded off death; but the bones of Martyrs have done both. In the days of our forefathers, the former happened; the latter in our own."—*Homil.* 67. *de St. Drosid. Mart.*

Gregory of Nyssa.—(In his Oration on the Feast of the Martyr Theodorus) "when any one enters such a

* In quoting this Epistle to Julian, as from the pen of St. Basil, my young friend has not shown his usual accuracy. The fragment from which the above passage is taken, though extant among the Acts of the Second Nicene Council, is given up, I believe, as spurious, by the most judicious Catholic writers; and even the zealous Baronius, though he produces the fragment, forbears cautiously from laying any stress upon it, as authority.

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place as this, where the memory of this just man and his relics are preserved, his mind is first struck, while he views the structure and all its ornaments, with the general magnificence that breaks upon him. The artist has here shown his skill in the figures of animals and the airy sculpture of the stone, *while the painter's hand is most conspicuous in delineating the high achievements of the Martyr. . . . . The figure of Christ is also beheld looking down upon the scene.*"

Nilus.—"In the chancel of the most sacred temple, towards the east, let there be one and only one Cross . . . . . *Let the sacred temple be filled with pictures well executed by the most celebrated artists, representing the most remarkable events of the Old and New Testaments;* that the unlettered and those who are incapable of reading the divine Scriptures may, by the sight of the picture, be instructed in the virtuous deeds of those who have served the true God, according to his own will and command." *Lib.* 4. *Ep.* 61.

CHAPTER VIII.

Invocation of the Virgin.—Gospel of the Infancy, &c.—Louis XI.—Bonaventura.—St. Ambrose, St. Basil, and Doctor Doyle.

In the foregoing list, containing a few of those "abominations" of Popery, which I found sanctioned by the highest authorities of the Christian Church, there is one placed under the head of "Invocation of Saints," to which I had not before adverted, namely, the devotion (or, as Protestants will have it,) idolatry paid by Papists to the Blessed Virgin. There appears no doubt that this worship, within the due bounds to which all rational Catholics would confine it, formed a part of the devotions of Christians, from the very first ages of the Church. In the Second Century we find Irenæus, the great light of that age, attributing such power to the intercession of the Virgin with God, as to suppose her the advocate, in heaven, for the fallen mother of mankind, Eve. The Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus, a work referred to the same

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period, and which, though manifestly an imposture,* may, at least, be depended upon, as an echo of the tone prevalent among the orthodox of its times, in relating the circumstances which took place previously to our Lord's nativity, gives to the Virgin simply the name of "Mary," but immediately after that event, styles her the "Divine Mary," and adds that Churches were, in those times, dedicated to her honour.†

In the irritation which, I own, I could not help feeling at the discovery of this fresh proof of Popery, in the early ages of the Church, I found myself secretly wishing that it might also be in my power to detect, in those times, the same extravagant follies respecting the worship of the Virgin, which, in after ages, brought such discredit upon the religion that was made responsible for them, and by which alone, indeed, most Protestants form their judgment of the Catholic faith on this subject.‡ I allude not so much to the gross extravagances of those who have installed the Virgin as a Fourth Person of the Godhead, or to such superstitious follies as that of Louis XI., who, by a formal contract, made over to the Mother of God all right and title in the fee and privileges of the Comte de Boulogne,—not so much to these blasphemous absurdities do I allude, as to that injudicious excess of zeal which led Bonaventura and other distinguished Catholics to claim for the Virgin a rank in the scale of su-

* With this Gospel another apocryphal work, of the same high antiquity, is usually joined, to wit, the Gospel of the Birth of Mary, in which it is declared that the object of her espousals with Joseph was, not that he might make her his wife, but that he might be the guardian of her perpetual Virginity; the High Priest having said to him, "Thou art the person chosen to take the Virgin of the Lord, to keep her for him."

† The minister, Jurieu, contended that the claims of the Virgin to invocation or worship were not admitted till after that decision of the Council of Ephesus, which, in opposition to Nestorius, pronounced Mary to be the mother of God. It is well answered, however, by Bossuet, that the very Church in which that Council was held bore testimony to the honours already paid to the Virgin by its having been dedicated to her name. He refers also to a circumstance which, long before the sitting of that Council, St. Gregory of Nazianzum had related of a female martyr in the third century, who prayed to the Blessed Mary "to aid a virgin who was in peril."

‡ The Lutheran Goetzius, assuming charitably that female saints, —Mary, Anne, Catherine, Margaret, &c. (as he enumerates them,)—form the principal object of worship with the Catholics, calls their faith a womanish Religion."—*religio muliebris.* See his Meletemata Annæ bergensia.

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perior beings much higher than either reason or true piety would assign to her.*

So far from finding, however, in the first ages, any sanction for such pretensions, I soon discovered that though, even then, some abuses of this worship had intruded themselves, the great teachers of Christian doctrine rebuked and denounced them as idolatrous: nor could there be given, perhaps, a more faithful exposition of all that the Catholics of the present day think and feel on this subject, than is to be found in the following remarks, which the great antagonist of heresies, Epiphanius, directed against some female heretics of his time, by whom a more than due share of honour was paid to the Virgin:—"Her body (he says) was, I own, holy, but she was no God. She continued a Virgin, but she is not proposed for our adoration;—she herself adoring him who, having descended from heaven and the bosom of his Father, was born of her flesh. . . . . Though, therefore, she was a chosen vessel, and endowed with eminent sanctity, still she is a woman, partaking of our common nature, but deserving of the highest honours shown to the Saints of God.—She stands before them all on account of the heavenly mystery accomplished in her. But we adore no saint: and as this worship is not given to angels, much less can it be allowed to the daughter of Ann.—Let Mary, therefore, be honoured; but the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost alone be adored: let no one adore Mary."—*Adv. Collyridianos*† *Hær.* 59.

* The absurdity of the learned Lipsius (one of those many literati, whose whole due of fame is, as it were, discounted to them while living) in bequeathing his best fur cloak to the Virgin on his deathbed, drew down from the Netherland wits a burst of ridicule upon his memory, which the defence of the bequest by his friend Wowerius (Assertio Lipsiani Donari) was but ill calculated to extinguish.

Of the lengths to which some pious-enthusiasts in the cause of the Virgin have gone, many curious instances might be collected. For example, the following thesis, put forth by the Récollets of Liege, in 1676.—"Frequens confessio et communio, et cultus B. Virginis etiam in iis, qui gentiliter vivunt, sunt signum predestinationis;" and, still more absurd, the assertion of a Portuguese Jesuit, Francis Mendoza, "impossibile esse ut B. Virginis cultor in æternum damnetur." These are, to be sure, wretched extravagances; but if the excess or perversion of a religious belief is to be assumed as an argument against the belief itself, far more vital points of faith than the intercessorial power of the Virgin may suffer by such logic.

† These heretics, who were chiefly women, used to offer up to the Virgin a particular kind of cake, or bun, called in Greek, *Collyris.* Their grand offering, however, was a loaf, which, at a stated season

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Precisely such, as I conceive, is the wide and essential distinction which a Catholic divine of our own days would draw between adoration and honour;—between the worship due only to God, and that devout veneration which, in common with all Christian antiquity, we should offer to her whom an inspired voice pronounced "blessed among women," and "the Mother of the Lord."

In short, looking back from the point where I had now arrived to the whole course and results of my search through those ages, I found myself forced to confess, that the Popery of the nineteenth century differs in no respect from the Christianity of the third and fourth; and that if St. Ambrose, St. Basil, and a few more such "flowers of Churches," had been able to borrow the magic night-caps of their cotemporaries, the Seven Sleepers, and were now, after a nap of about fifteen centuries, just opening their eyes in the town of Carlow, they would find in the person of Dr. Doyle, the learned Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, not only an Irishman whose acquaintance even *they* might be proud to make, but a fellow Catholic every iota of whose creed would be found to correspond exactly with their own.

CHAPTER IX.

Prayers for the Dead.—Purgatory.—Penitential Discipline.—Confession.—Origen.—St. Ambrose.—Apostrophe to the Shade of Father O'H * *.

Among those articles of Popery which I have enumerated as pre-existing in the creed of the Primitive Church, there are two, rather implied than mentioned, namely, a belief in Purgatory and auricular Confession, concerning which I have to offer a few brief remarks.

The solemn usage of praying for the Dead, can be founded only on the belief that there exists a middle state of puri-

of the year, they presented to her with much solemnity, and then each of them partook of the oblation. In this ceremony, the women performed the office of Priesthood.

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fication and suffering through which souls pass after death, and from which the prayers of the faithful may aid in delivering them. The antiquity, therefore, of the use of Prayers for the Dead (and we trace them through all the most ancient Liturgies) sufficiently prove to us how ancient was the belief on which they are founded. From the Second Book of the Maccabees (taking these Books merely in the Protestant view of them, as an uncanonical but authentic record) we learn that the ancient Jews, on this point, held the same faith as the Catholics:—"It is, therefore, a holy and a wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins."

We cannot wonder that such a belief should be thus ancient, for assuredly none can be more natural; nor, on the other hand, can any thing be less consistent either with our knowledge of *human* nature, or our notions of the *divine*, than such an absence of all gradation, both in reward and punishment, as the want of an intermediate state between heaven and hell must imply. What the Protestant divine, Paley, has said on the subject of Purgatory appears to me to be founded on such sentiments as both reason and nature approve: "Who can bear," he asks, "the thought of dwelling in everlasting torments? Yet who can say that a God everlastingly just will not inflict them? The mind of man seeks for some resource: it finds one only in conceiving *that some temporary punishment, after death, may purify the soul from its moral pollutions, and make it at last acceptable even to a Deity infinitely pure.*"

Fully agreeing with Paley on this point, it was with some pleasure I now discovered that, from Justin Martyr down to Basil and Ambrose, all the Fathers of the first four ages concur in opinion as to the existence of such an intermediate state;—the greater number of them interpreting a remarkable passage of St. Paul (1 Cor. iii. 13, 14, 15,) as denoting expressly some region of purgation for the soul, where "the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is," and where, as Origen explains the passage, "each crime shall, in proportion to its character, experience a just degree of punishment." Referring to the same passage of the Apostle, St. Ambrose says, "From hence it may be collected, that the same man is saved in part, and is condemned in part;" and, again, in a Commentary on this Epistle, he remarks:—"The Apos-

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tle said, 'He shall be saved, yet so as by fire,' in order that his salvation be not understood to be without pain. He shows that he shall be saved indeed, but that he shall undergo the pain of fire, and be thus purified; not like the unbelieving and wicked man who shall be punished in everlasting fire."—*Comment. in* 1 *Ep. ad Cor.* With similar views it was maintained by St. Hilary (and Origen seems to have been of the same opinion) that, after the day of Judgment, all—even the Blessed Virgin herself—must alike pass through this fire, to purify them from their sins.

The system of Penitential Discipline,* of which Confession forms one of the most important parts, was, as we learn from the ecclesiastical historian, Socrates, observed by the Bishops of Rome from the very earliest times; and the public penance of the Emperor Theodosius, in the great Church of Milan, proves what deference continued to be paid to the same spiritual ordinance, after Christianity had become the established religion of the Empire. Far different, however, were the notions of Repentance prevailing among the early Christians from those that have since been taught by the Apostles of the Reformation, who, in abolishing Confession, Penitential Fasting, &c. and getting rid of all that slow, humbling process of self-accusation and penance, by which the Catholic Church has, through all ages, disciplined her erring children, seem to have thought of little else than consulting the comfort of the sinner, and rendering his road to salvation short and easy. "There is yet," says Origen, "a more severe and arduous pardon of sin by penance, when the sinner washes his couch with his tears, and when he blushes not to disclose his sin to the Priest of the Lord,

* As, in this world, the abuse of all good gifts follows as naturally on their use as shadows do on lights, it can little surprise us to find that the Sacrament of Penance was as much perverted from its true intention and spirit by the weak Catholics of other days, as it is, and will be, perverted by the same description of Catholics to the end of time. The existence of such false notions of Penance, in his own days, is thus noticed and reprehended by St. Ambrose:—"There are some who ask for penance, that they may be at once restored to communion. These do not so much desire to be loosed as to bind the Priest, for they do not unburden their own consciences, but they burden his. * * * Thus you may see persons walking about in white garments, who ought to be in tears for having defiled that colour of grace and innocence. Others there are, who, provided they abstain from the Holy Sacraments, fancy they are doing penance. Others, while they have this in view, conclude they are licensed to sin, not aware that penance is the remedy, not the provocative of sin."—*De Penit. l.* 2. *c.* 9.

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and to ask a remedy.* Thus is fulfilled what the Apostle says, 'Is any man sick among you, let him bring in the Priests of the Church.' (James v. 14.")

Of St. Ambrose it is said, by his secretary and biographer, that "as often as any one, in doing penance, confessed his faults to him, he wept so as to draw tears from the sinner. He seemed to take part in every act of sorrow. But, as to the occasions or causes of the crimes which they confessed, these he revealed to no one but God, with whom he interceded; leaving this good example to his successors in the Priesthood, that they should be intercessors with God, not accusers before men."—*Paulin. in Vita Ambros.* The writings, indeed, of that age abound with affecting remarks upon the sacred and delicate duty which a Confessor has to perform, and the consoling balm he may apply to wounded and repentant spirits. "Show me bitter tears (says St. Gregory of Nyssa) that I may mingle mine with yours. Impart your trouble to the Priest, as to your Father; he will be touched with a sense of your misery. Show to him what is concealed, without blushing;—open the secrets of your soul, as if you were showing to a physician a hidden disorder; he will take care of your honour and of your cure."—*Serm. de Pœnit.*

How often, in reading such passages, did I call to mind my own innocent and Popery-believing days, when, as the regular season for Confession returned, I used to set off, early in the morning, to —— Street Chapel, trembling all over with awe at the task that was before me, but still firmly resolved to tell the worst, without disguise. How vividly do I, even at this moment, remember kneeling down by the Confessional, and feeling my heart beat quicker, as the sliding-panel in the side opened, and I saw the meek and venerable head of the kind Father O'H—— stooping down to hear my whispered list of sins. The paternal look of the old man,—the gentleness of his voice, even in rebuke,—the encouraging hopes he gave of mercy as the sure reward of contrition and reformation,—all these recollections came freshly over my mind, as I now read the touching language employed by some of the Fathers on this subject; language such as the following, from the Homilies of Origen, which, though writ-

* St. Augustin also writes: "Our merciful God wills us to confess in this world that we may not be confounded in the other."—*Hom.* 20.

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ten when Christianity was little more than 200 years old, is as applicable to many a Catholic Confessor of our own times, as if indited but yesterday. "Only let the sinner carefully consider to whom he should confess his sin, what is the character of the physician;—if he be one who will be weak with the weak, who will weep with the sorrowful, and who understands the discipline of condolence and fellow-feeling: so that when his skill shall be known, and his pity felt, you may follow what he shall advise."—*Homil.* 2. *in Psalm* 27. "If we discover our sins, not only to God, but to those who may thus apply a remedy to our wounds and iniquities, our sins will be effaced by him who said, 'I have blotted out thy iniquities as a cloud, and thy sins as a mist.'"—*Homil.* 17. *in Lucam.*

Shade of my reverend Pastor, couldst thou have looked down upon me, in the midst of my folios, how it would have grieved thy meek spirit to see the humble little visiter of thy confessional,—him whom sometimes thou hast doomed, for his sins, to read the Seven Penitential Psalms daily,—to see him forgetting so soon the docility of those undoubting days, and setting himself up, God help him, as controvertist and Protestant!

CHAPTER X.

The Eucharist.—A glimpse of Protestantism.—Type, Figure, Sign, &c.—Glimpse lost again.—St. Cyril of Jerusalem.—St. Cyprian—St. Jerom.—St. Chrysostom.—Tertullian.

In tracing the doctrines of Popery through the third and fourth ages, I have reserved, as may have been remarked, one of the most important of them all,—that relating to the Eucharist,—for separate consideration; and this I have done not merely on account of the great importance of the doctrine itself, but because on this point alone could I at all flatter myself with having discovered any little glimmerings of that Protestant Christianity of which I was in search.

The two first centuries, I saw clearly, must be given up as desperate; the language employed upon this sub-

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ject by Ignatius, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus, having abundantly convinced me that, in those apostolic times, the literal or Popish interpretation of the words "This is my body" was the accepted doctrine; and that the Christians of the Primitive Church believed not only in the Real, corporal Presence, but in the miraculous change of substance after consecration. In the present depressed state of my hopes, however,—lowered as they were to the freezing temperature,—I would have compounded gladly for a sample of Protestantism even of a much less ancient date; and it was therefore with considerable satisfaction I had discovered in some writers of the third century the use of such expressions, in speaking of the Eucharist, as "Type," "Antitype," "Figure," &c., which seemed to afford a sort of escape from the difficulties of a Real Presence into the vague and figurative substitute for that miracle which, on the principle of believing "made easy," has been adopted by Protestants.

My self-gratulation, however, on this discovery was but of very short duration. In the first place, I soon found that this use of the words "Type," "Antitype," "Sign," &c. is not confined to those few Fathers to whom the Protestants look up as authority, but that the same terms have been also applied to the Eucharist by several of those writers whose real opinions respecting the nature of that Sacrament are known to have been as transubstantiatory as Popish heart could desire. Thus the great Catechist, Cyril of Jerusalem, who, in his doctrine concerning the Real Presence, goes the full lengths of all that Rome has ever asserted on the subject, yet applies to the Eucharist the word "Type," and that in a manner which seems to bear out the opinions of those who think that the term, as thus employed by the Fathers, denoted but the external appearance, or *accidents*, of the Eucharistic elements. "In the type of bread (says Cyril) is given to thee the body, and in the type of wine is given to thee the blood."* In the same manner, in one of those Liturgies which go under the name of St. Basil, we find the bread and wine offered under the name of Antitypes, while in the prayer that follows, the Holy Spirit is invoked to come down and

* Εν τυπω λαρ αρτου διδοται σοι σωμα και εν τυπω οινου διδοται σοι αιμα.

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bless the gifts, and "*make** the bread the body and the wine the blood of Christ."

If we may rely, indeed, on the authenticity of a passage, adduced by Bullinger from some MS. writings of Origen, —and I see no reason to doubt the honesty of the Reformer, in this instance,—it would appear, that Origen foresaw the heresy that was likely to arise on this point, and thus, by referring to the direct words of our Saviour, endeavoured to guard against it.—"He did not say (observes Origen) 'this is a symbol,' but 'this is a body;'—indicating thereby that nobody must suppose it to be a type."† Another passage, still more strongly to the same purport, is quoted by the same eminent Protestant, Bullinger, from the writings of Magnes, a Priest of Jerusalem, who flourished in the third century:—"The Eucharist is not a *type* of the body and blood, as some men, defective in their understanding, have babbled, but rather *the* body and blood."‡

But, whatever may be thought of the authenticity of these passages, I found to my sorrow, that the Catholic view of the matter did not want the aid of any such questionable authorities. So far, indeed, from considering the Eucharist to be, itself, merely typical or symbolical, the early Christians, on the contrary, held it to be the accomplishment or reality of what *had* been but typical, under the Old Law. In the bread and wine offered by Melchisedek, the "Priest of the Most High God," they saw the figure or shadow of that Sacrifice which was to be instituted, from the same elements, in the Eucharist,—the type, in short, of that great mystery of which the Eucharist is the reality and the verity. "That the blessing given to Abraham (says Cyprian) might be properly celebrated, the representation of the Sacrifice of Christ, appointed in bread and wine, preceded it; which our Lord perfecting and fulfilling it,

* Αναδειξαι, which, as Suicerus acknowledges, signifies here to *render* or *make*.

† Ου λαρ ειπε τουτο εστι συμβολον, αλλ' τουτο εστι σωμα· δικτικως, ινα μη νομιζη τις τυπον ειναι.

‡ Ουκ εστιν Ευχαριστια τυπος του σωματος και του αιματος, ωσπερ τινες ερραψδωησαν πεπηρωμενοι τον νουν, μαλλον δε σωμα και αιμα.—*Advers. Theosthenem.*

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himself made offering of in bread and wine; and thus he, who is the plenitude, fulfilled the truth of the prefigured image." (*Ep.* 63, *ad Cecilium.*)—Conceiving the show-bread of the Temple to have been also a prefiguration of the Eucharist, St. Jerome says, "There is as much difference betwixt the loaves offered to God in the Old Law and the body of Jesus Christ, as betwixt the shadow and the body, betwixt the image and the truth." (*Comment. in Ep. ad Tit.*)

It having been evidently the belief of the early orthodox Christians that the Eucharist had been prefigured in the offerings of the Old Law, to assert that they held this sacrament itself to be typical is to impute to them the absurdity of saying that it is but a type of types, a mere shadow of shadows;*—thus sinking their estimate of the importance of this institution to even a lower and more evanescent point of value than it has been reduced to by modern Sacramentarians and Arminians. That the very reverse, however, of all this was the case, I have just clearly shown; and how precious they held the assurance that in place of the types and shadows of old, they had, in the Sacrifice of the New Law, a reality and a substance,† will appear from the language, ever glow-

* In a certain sense, and as far as it does not affect or qualify the belief in a Real Presence, the Catholic may with perfect consistency apply the words Figure or Symbol to the Eucharist, seeing that every sacrament, as such, must be an outward sign, and consequently a Figure or Symbol. In this sense it is that Pascal understands the terms in question, used by the Fathers; and as the view taken by so great a man of an article of faith so disputed cannot but be interesting, I shall here transcribe his own characteristically clear words:—"Nous croyons que la substance du pain étant changée en celle du corps de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, il est présent réellement au Saint Sacrement. Voilà une des vérités. Une autre est que ce Sacrement est aussi une figure de la croix et de la gloire, et une commémoration des deux. Voilà la foi Catholique, qui comprend ces deux vérites qui semblent opposées.

"L'hérésie d'aujourd'hui, ne concevant pas que ce Sacrement contient tout ensemble, et la présence de Jésus Christ et sa figure, et qu'il soit Sacrifice, et Commémoration de Sacrifice, croit qu'on ne peut admette l'une de ces vérités sans exclure l'autre.

"Par cette raison ils s'attachment â ce point, que ce Sacrement est figuratif; et en cela ils ne sont pas hérétiques. Ils pensent que nous exclusion cette vérité; et de là vient qu'ils nous font tant d'objections sur les passages des Pères qui le disent. Enfin, ils nient la présence réelle; et en cela ils sout hérétiques."—*Pensees, Sec. Partie.*

† "We have an altar," says St. Paul, "whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle."—And yet (observes St. Thomas Aquinas on this passage) those who served the tabernacle had the

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ing, of Chrysostom on this subject.—Asserting the Eucharist to be the accomplishment of the typical Passover, he says, "How much greater holiness becomes thee, oh! Christian, who hast received greater symbols than the Holy of Holies contained;—for you have not the Cherubim, but the Lord of the Cherubim dwelling in you;—you have not the Urn, and the Manna, and the Tables of Stone, and the Rod of Aaron, but the body and blood of our Lord." (*In Psalm* 133.) Again; *Hom.* 46, he says—"This blood, even in the type, washed away sin. If it had so great power in the type,—if Death were so affrighted by the shadow, tell how it must be affrighted at the Verity itself. Truly tremendous are the mysteries of the Church; truly tremendous are our altars!"

The truth is, that the use of the words Type, Figure, Sign, &c., as applied to the Eucharist, is to be found neither in the Scriptures, nor in any of the pure Christian writers of the first two centuries. In the Scriptures, the Eucharistic elements are usually denoted by the words "body" and "blood;" and the same unqualified and unevasive language descended from the Apostles to their immediate successors in the Church; among whom, "to offer," to receive," "to eat and drink the body and blood of Christ," were as familiar phrases as "to receive the Sacrament," or "to administer the Communion" are among ourselves.

With Tertullian may be said to have commenced that change in the public language of the Fathers on this subject,—that circumlocution, and, not unfrequently, ambiguity, in their notices of this mystery,—of which before there had been no example, and of which the Protestants have, in their despair, taken advantage as affording some shadow of plausibility to their arguments against the true Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. The system of secrecy to which such ambiguities, and, as it would seem, incon-

figure of Jesus Christ in their Sacrifices. Where, then, would be the advantage that the Law of Grace professes to have over the Synagogue? If the Manna of the desert and the Eucharist are both alike but the *image* of his body, wherefore does the Saviour mark out that essential difference between them that the former was but a food miraculously formed in the air which gave not life, while the latter is "the bread which cometh from heaven," and which if any man eat of, "he shall live for ever." (John, vi.)—*See Conférences sur les Mystères*, tom. 2, p. 279.

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sistencies in these holy writers may be traced, forms too remarkable a feature in the annals of the early Church, and is, indeed, too closely connected with the history of this and other Christian doctrines, to be dismissed without receiving some farther consideration.

CHAPTER XI.

Discipline of the Secret.—Concealment of the doctrine of the Real Presence.—St. Paul.—St. Clement of Alexandria.—Apostolical Constitutions.—System of secrecy, when most observed.

THE system to which I have referred, at the close of the preceding chapter, as being the principal cause of that restraint and ambiguity which are observable in the language of some of the Fathers concerning the Eucharist, is well known among the learned by the name of the Discipline of the Secret, and by many is supposed to have been of apostolic origin. Among those alleged imitations of the religious policy of the Pagans with which the Primitive Christians and the Papists have alike been reproached, one of the most striking, as regards the former, is that distinction drawn in the early Church between the initiated and the non-initiated,—or, in other words, the baptized and the unbaptized,—and the sacred care with which the latter of those two classes were excluded from all knowledge of those more recondite and awful doctrines of the faith, in which (to use the language of the Apostle) "the wisdom of God in a mystery" lies concealed.

In like manner, too, as among the Heathen Initiations, there were certain stages through which the candidate had to pass, not only for the purposes of discipline and instruction, but to stimulate also his ardour in the pursuit, before he arrived at the full and crowning close of his task, so in these Mysteries of the Church, and declaredly for the same reasons, a series of gradations was established through which the Catechumens and Penitents were

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obliged slowly to advance to that highest station where they were at length thought worthy of being initiated into the Faith, and the great Mystery, the Eucharist, was for the first time communicated to them. Till this period, not only were the Catechumens prohibited from being present at the celebration of that Sacrament, but all notion of its nature was carefully withheld from them, nor was it ever suffered to be mentioned, except obscurely, in their presence.

The chief object of all this secrecy was to guard from the profaning scoffs of the infidel such doctrines as the ear of Faith was alone worthy to listen to; and the authority alleged for its adoption was no less sacred a one than the injunction of Christ himself:—"Place not holy things before dogs, nor pearls before swine." That the Apostles, in their capacity of "Stewards of the Mysteries of God," observed a similar rule of secrecy was the current opinion of the Fathers; and the words of St. Paul (1 Cor. iii. 1, 2.) are often adduced by them to prove that already, in his time, this distinction between the Catechumens and the Faithful was in force. "And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal persons, even as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk and not with meat, for hitherto ye were not able to bear it; neither yet now are ye able."

"If, therefore (says St. Clement of Alexandria, in commenting on this passage,) Milk be said by the Apostle to belong to babes, and Meat to them that are perfect, Milk will be understood to be *Catechizing*, as the first kind of food of the soul, but Meat the *concealed Theories*." How strongly St. Jerome also was of opinion that St. Paul acted upon this principle appears from his reply to his friend Evagrius, who had consulted him respecting the meaning of an obscure passage of the Apostle with regard to the sacrifice of Melchisedek:—"You are not to suppose (says St. Jerome) that Paul could not easily have explained himself; but the time was not come for such explanation. He sought to persuade the Jews, and not the Faithful, to whom the mystery might have been delivered without reserve."

Did the curious Collection, known by the name of the Apostolical Constitutions, possess any such claim to a

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rank among scriptural writings as Whiston labours to establish for it, the apostolic origin of the Discipline of the Secret could be no longer doubtful;—these Constitutions having been professedly collected, under such a law of secrecy, by the fellow-labourer of St. Paul, Clement, as he is himself thus made to declare:—"The Constitutions, dedicated to you, the Bishops, by me, Clement, in Eight Books;—which it is not fitting to publish before all, because of the Mysteries contained in them."

But, though the authenticity claimed by Whiston, with such profuse waste of learning, for this book, be now generally disallowed, the work still furnishes a proof that, in the third or fourth century, when it was fabricated, a belief prevailed that those unwritten traditions and doctrines over which the Church drew a veil of silence had descended to her, under the same religious law of secrecy, from the Apostles themselves. "We receive," says St. Basil, "the dogmas transmitted to us by writing, and those which have descended to us from the Apostles, beneath the veil and mystery of oral tradition. . . . . The Apostles and Fathers who prescribed from the beginning certain rites to the Church, knew how to preserve the dignity of the Mysteries by the secrecy and silence in which they enveloped them. For what is open to the ear and the eye is no longer mysterious. For this reason several things have been handed down to us without writing, lest the vulgar, too familiar with our dogmas, should pass from being accustomed to them to the contempt of them."—*De Spirit. Sanct. c. 27.*

Upon the controversy which is known to have been maintained among the learned as to the precise time when the Discipline of the Secret was first introduced into the Church, it is not my intention here to dwell.—Some, as we have seen, trace its origin as far back as the time of the Apostles,* while others suppose it to have been first practised towards the close of the second century, and others, again, contrary to all authority, date its commencement so low down as the fourth. The truth seems to be that the *principle* of this policy was acted

* Among moderns, Schelstrate has contended most strenuously for the apostolic origin of the Secret, while, in opposition to him, Tentzelius and others refer its rise to about the close of the second century.

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upon, in the Christian Church, from its very beginning. So strongly has not only St. Paul, but our Saviour himself, inculcated a sacred reserve in promulgating the Mysteries of the Faith, that there can be no doubt the succeeding teachers of the Church would, in this, as in all things else, follow their Divine Master's precept.

But though, as a principle, this reverential guard over the Mysteries was observed, doubtless, from the very first rise of Christianity, it does not appear to have been strictly enforced, as a rule of discipline, till about the close of the second century. The curiosity, and, still more, the bitter enmity excited by the rapid spread of a religion founded wholly, as it appeared, on mysteries, but whose progress was, in unbelieving eyes, the greatest mystery of all, rendered increased caution necessary on the part of its ministers; and the divine precept by which they were enjoined to hide the "holy things" of the Faith from unbelievers, began, about this time, to be acted upon by them with a degree of jealous strictness proportionate to the prying insolence and violence by which they were encompassed.

CHAPTER XII.

Doctrine of the Trinity.—St. Justin.—Irenæus.—Apparent heterodoxy of the Fathers of the Third Century.—Accounted for by the Discipline of the Secret.—Tertullian, Origen, Lactantius, &c.

It has been asserted by more than one learned writer, that the doctrine of the Trinity was not included among the mysteries to which the protection of this rule of secrecy was extended.* But such an assumption is not

* In defiance, as it appears to me, of all evidence, it has been maintained by Tentzelius, Casaubon and others, that it was neither the Trinity, nor any of the other dogmas of the Faith, but merely the rites and ceremonies of the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist that were intended to be concealed from the non-initiated by the observance of this Discipline.

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only inconsistent with the main objects for which such a rule was established, but is also, as it will not be difficult to show, at variance with fact. It was, indeed, the pious horror of exposing such high mysteries as that of the Trinity to the scoffs and, what was still worse, the misrepresentations of the Gentiles, that formed the chief motive of the Christian Pastors for the policy which they adopted,—a policy which, on some points (such as that of the Seven Sacraments,*) is supposed to have led them to preserve an unbroken silence, but which, for the most part, consisted in holding such language respecting any mystery they had to mention before unbelievers, as was, at the same time, transparent enough to allow the truth to shine out to the initiated, and yet too obscure to betray either the teacher or his doctrines to the profane. In this reserved and ambiguous manner do Tertullian and some of the succeeding Fathers speak of the Eucharist; and still more evasively, from the same cause, have almost all the Fathers of the first three centuries and a half spoken of the Trinity.

This latter fact I am, in a peculiar degree, anxious to impress on the reader; seeing that it is of importance to my subject to show that by an almost exactly similar fate has the progress of these two mysteries, the Trinity and the Real Presence, been all along marked; and that the same cause which produced, in some of the early Fathers, that ambiguity of language, on the subject of the Eucharist, of which the Protestants have availed themselves for the support of their schism, produced also that still greater ambiguity and inconsistency in the language of the same Fathers, respecting the Trinity, which has, with a similar degree of dexterity, been employed, in favour of their own heresy, by the Arians.

I have already remarked how much more free from

* It is to the operation of the Discipline of the Secret that Catholic writers attribute the entire silence which they acknowledge has been preserved, on the subject of the Seven Sacraments, in all the authentic monuments of antiquity that remain to us. According to Schelstrate,—one of those by whom the circumstance is thus accounted for,—it is not till the seventh century that any mention of the Seven Sacraments occurs;—"Si pervolvamus omnia antiquitatis monumenta, si perscrutemur cuncta antiquissimorum Patrum scripta, si investigemus ipsa Synodorum decreta, nullum librum, nullum decretum reperiri, quod ante septimum sæculum egerit de Septem Sacramentis, eorumque ritus exposuerit."—*Schelstraten. De Disciplin. Arcan.*

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the restraints of this singular Discipline were those writers who flourished previously to the close of the second century than were any of their successors for the next hundred and fifty years; and I need but mention, in proof of this fact, that the same illustrious Father, St. Justin, who, as I have shown, ventured, in his Address to the Sovereign and Princes of the Empire, to promulgate the doctrine of Transubstantiation, proclaimed also, in the same public document, the mystic dogma of the Trinity.

How far the circumstance of his not being an ecclesiastic may have rendered this Father somewhat less guarded in his public writings, I will not pretend to determine; but it is plain that even he thought it prudent so far to disguise or soften down some of the more salient points of the doctrine of the Trinity as to present it to the minds of unbelievers in its least startling shape. knowing well that the charge of Polytheism was lying in wait for him, as well from Jews as from Gentiles, he refrains most cautiously, in his Apology, from asserting the co-eternity of the Son with the Father, and even, in some passages, expressly declares the inferior nature of the former;—"*Next after God*, we adore and love that Word which is derived from the ineffable and unbegotten God." And again, in speaking of the Logos, "Than whom a more Royal and just Ruler, *after God the Father*, we know not one."

The charge of heterodoxy which such language has drawn down upon St. Justin would appear not to be without some foundation, had we not the Discipline of the Secret to account for it satisfactorily, and did there not occur other passages, in the very same document, where this veil of reserve is withdrawn and the true doctrine disclosed to the Initiate. Of this nature is the following, showing clearly that the pure, orthodox belief,—that which holds the Son to have been generated, not created, and to have been with the Father from all eternity,—was the belief delivered to St. Justin, and by him taught to the baptized:—"But his Son, who alone is properly called his Son, the Word, who was with him and was begotten by him before the Creatures."

Another writer of the same age, Irenæus, may be cited as yet more remarkable for the extent to which he has ventured to unveil both the Sacrifice in the Eucharist,

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and, still more fully, the great mystery of the Eternal Generation of the Son. With so much bolder a hand than any of his successors has he laid open the depths of this latter doctrine, that in him alone does Whiston allow that there can be found any sanction for that high view of the Trinity, to which Whiston himself was opposed; but which, however apparently, at times, "shorn of its beams," has been, throughout every age of the Church, her unchanging doctrine. It was from want of attention to the operation of the Discipline of the Secret that Whiston and others have been led into exactly the same error, respecting the Trinity, that other Protestant divines have fallen into, on the subject of the Real corporal Presence.

Far different, indeed, from the language of Justin and Irenæus was that held, on both these dogmas, by the Fathers of the following age, when the system of secrecy had begun strictly to be acted upon, and when, amidst the storms of persecution that gathered round their heads, the ministers of the Faith found in this holy Silence a protection both for their doctrines and themselves. Nothing, in truth, can show more strongly the difference that, in this respect, distinguished the two periods, than a comparison of the conduct of St. Justin with that of St. Cyprian, in situations very nearly similar. The former, as we have seen in his Defence of Christianity, addressed to the Princes of the Empire, did not hesitate so far to throw open the sanctuary of the Faith as to place before them its two great Arcana, the Trinity and the Real Presence; whereas St. Cyprian, when, in like manner, called upon to stand forth in vindication of his religion, ventured no farther, in his public Epistle on the occasion, than to assert the doctrine of the Unity of God, leaving the Trinity and the mystic Sacraments of the Church wholly unmentioned.

So cautiously, indeed, are the Christians of Cyprian's age known to have shrunk from all mention of the Trinity before the uninitiated, that, in reviewing the Acts of the Martyr, St. Pontius, the chief point on which the learned Schelstrate rests his conviction of their spuriousness is their representing this Martyr as speaking openly of the Trinity before the emperors Philip, while still Gentiles,—a violation of the law of secrecy, on this sub-

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ject, of which no Christian would, at that time,* have been likely to be guilty.

Were we to form our judgment solely on some detached passages of Tertullian, Origen, and Lactantius, we must either come to Whiston's conclusion, that the present accepted doctrine of the Trinity was not that of the primitive Church; or else suppose that the truth of this divine mystery, having broken out brightly and genuinely in the writings of St. Justin and Irenæus, was again, for an interval of a hundred and fifty years, eclipsed and lost. To give but an instance or two of the imperfect views, respecting the relation between Christ and God, which the Fathers of the third century suffered to glimmer through their writings, we find the following unorthodox passage in Tertullian on the subject:—"God was not always a Father or Judge, since he could not be a Father before he had a Son, nor a Judge before there was any sin; and there was a time when both sin and the Son were not."

The fear of drawing upon themselves the imputation of Polytheism from the Gentiles appears to have been one of the chief motives with these holy men for their reserve respecting the Trinity; and how readily disposed were not only the Pagans, but some of the heretics, to found such an accusation on this doctrine appears from the account given by Tertullian of the Sabellians of his day, whose first question, as he tells us, in meeting any of the orthodox, was, "Well, my friends, do we believe in one God or three?" It was evidently to counteract such an impression that St. Cyprian, as we have seen, in his Letter to the Proconsul of Africa, contented himself with solely establishing the Unity of God; and that another learned Father, Lactantius, about half a century later, thought it prudent to put forth the following declaration:—"Our Saviour taught that there is but one God, and that he alone is to be worshipped; nor did he ever say once himself that he was God. For, he had not been

* There occur also some instances of the same strict observance of secrecy, in the second century. Thus, we find, Alexander, the Martyr, when preaching to the prisoners, made no mention of the Holy Spirit, nor of the mystery of the Trinity; and when ordered by Aurelius to explain all the dogmas of his faith, answered that he was not permitted by Christ to place holy things before dogs.

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faithful to his trust, if, when he was sent to take away Polytheism, and assert the Unity of God, he had introduced another besides the one God. This had been not to preach the doctrine of one God, nor to do the business of him that sent him, but his own."—*De vera Sapient.*

In a similar manner, with the view of removing those prejudices which were known to exist against Christianity, from a notion that, like Paganism, it sanctioned the worship of many Gods, we find Origen, in his Treatise on Prayer, going so far as almost to deny that Christ is to be considered an object of supplication or thanksgiving:—"But if we understand (says this Father) what Prayer is, care must be taken that no derivative Being be the object of Prayer,—no, not Christ himself, but only the God and Father of the Universe, to whom also our Saviour himself prayed, as we have before expounded, and as he teaches us to pray. For, when one said to him, Teach us to pray, he does not teach us to pray to himself, but to his Father, saying, 'Our Father which art in heaven.'"

It is from attending solely to passages such as these that not only calumniators of the Fathers, like Daillé and Jurieu, but even Catholics of distinguished character, such as Petau and Huet,* have been led into the error of accusing the teachers of the early Church of Arianism; whereas, a little more fairness in some of the theologians just named, and a little more industry in the others, would have enabled them to cite from writings of the very same Fathers,—writings produced under circumstances that led them more freely to unfold the mysteries of their Faith,—passages fully asserting the dogma of the Tri-une Deity, in all its primitive, orthodox, and inscrutable grandeur. Thus Tertullian, who, as we have seen, in addressing the Stoic Hermogenes, could so far shrink from the true exposition of this doctrine as to declare that there was a time when God was not a Father, and had not a Son, has yet, in his Defence of the Trinity against Praxeas, given conclusive evidence of his belief

* This learned Catholic, in referring to the heretical opinions which are to be found in such passages as I have above cited from the Fathers, doubts whether to impute them to impiety or unskilfulness. But the self-imposed restraint, under which they, at times wrote, affords the true clew to all such difficulties.

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in the in-dwelling of the Word with God from all eternity; and has, moreover, in one sentence, defined the consubstantial union of the Three Persons as strictly as was afterwards done by Athanasius himself,—calling it "Una substantia in tribus cohærentibus." In a like manner, too, Origen, notwithstanding passages such as I have above cited from him, which lower our Saviour in the scale of Being to a rank secondary and derivative, has asserted so orthodoxly, in other parts of his writings, the co-equality of the Son, in Godship, with the Father, as to have drawn from Bishop Bull, the defender of the Nicene Anathema, the praise of perfect orthodoxy.

The natural working, indeed, of the wary policy which gave to these writers such an appearance of inconsistency, may be traced visibly through the course of the writings of St. Clement of Alexandria, in some of the earlier of which the equality of the Son to the Father is expressly maintained;* while, in his subsequent works, whether yielding to prudence, or to that admiration of the occult wisdom of the Greeks which he so warmly avows,† he withdraws this bolder view of the nature of the Redeemer, and represents him, almost invariably, as a subordinate and created Being.

That this reserve and ambiguity on the subject of the Trinity continued to be practised to as late a period as the middle of the fourth century appears from the following remarkable passage, in one of the Catechesses of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, which is in itself confirmatory of my view of the whole system:—"*We do not declare the Mysteries concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to a Heathen; nor do we speak plainly to the Catechumens about those Mysteries.* But we may say many things often in an occult way, that the Faithful who know them may understand them; and that those who do not understand them may not be hurt thereby."

* His words are, if I recollect right, ἐξισωθεὶς τῷ πατρί.

† In citing the words of St. Paul, "We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden mystery," Clement remarks that the Holy Apostle here observes "the prophetic and really ancient concealment, from whence the excellent doctrines of the Grecian philosophers were derived to them."

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CHAPTER XIII

Doctrine of the Incarnation.—Importance attached to it by Christ himself.—John vi.—Ignatius.—Connexion between the Incarnation and the Real Presence.—Concealment of the latter doctrine by the Fathers.—Proofs of this concealment.

HAVING dwelt thus long upon the influence which that rule of policy, called the Discipline of the Secret, exercised so manifestly over the writings of the Fathers on the subject of the Trinity, I shall now proceed to show that the same influence,—though certainly, in many instances, to a much less considerable degree—affected the public writings of these same Fathers, on the no less vital and mysterious doctrine of the Eucharist.

It may be observed to have been chiefly round those points of belief on which the Christians felt themselves most exposed to the charge of borrowing from the theology of the Heathens that they took the most especial care to throw the protection of this sacred silence. Of this description was, as I have already shown, the Trinity; and in the same predicament, as doctrines liable to be misrepresented, were the great mysteries of the Sonship and the Incarnation; the former of which the philosophic Gentiles exclaimed against, as originating in the same gross notions which had dictated the genealogy of the Heathen Gods; while, by such scoffers as Celsus, the Incarnation of the Eternal Word was compared to those transformations which Jupiter underwent in his multifarious love-adventures. In truth, the very first great point of the Christian scheme of Redemption which Christians themselves, in the presumptuous exercise of their judgment, dared to call into question, was the Incarnation of the Redeemer. Under the very eyes of our Lord himself there arose, as we have seen, a sect of heretics,* who, refusing to believe that Spirit so pure could clothe itself in corrupt flesh, chose rather to deny his humanity, and thus, in fact, nullify his mission as a Redeemer by re-

* The Docetæ. See page 20.

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moving that only link between the divine and human nature through which a mediation, implying sympathies with both, could be effected.

To obviate the mischiefs of this heresy,—coeval, as it would seem, with Christianity itself, and confirm the truth of the manifestation of God in the Flesh, was, it is evident, one of the most anxious objects, as well of our Saviour himself, as of those who acted under his authority. Had we no other proof, indeed, of the prevalence of such an error, respecting his nature, the solicitude he showed, in his interview with the Apostles after his resurrection, to convince them of his corporeality, by making them handle his limbs and by eating in their presence, would be sufficient to prove both the doubts, as to his humanity, that prevailed, and the immense importance which he himself attached to their removal: 'Handle me (he says) and see; for a Spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have:" or, as he is made to say, in an apocryphal work, cited by Origen,* "I am not an incorporeal Demon."

In the First Epistle of St. John, we find those heretics who denied the reality of Christ's body thus denounced: —"Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God; and this is that spirit of Antichrist whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world." It is, indeed, supposed to have been principally with the view of obviating so dangerous an error that the same Apostle wrote his Gospel; and not only the earnestness with which he anathematizes this heresy in his Epistle, but also the pains taken by him, as Evangelist, to assure the world of the real death of Christ and of the issuing of real blood and water from his wounded side, render such a view of his design, in writing this sacred narrative, both natural and rational.

It is, in fact, the 6th chapter of his Gospel,—that remarkable chapter, whose testimony to the marvellous nature and virtues of the Eucharist the ingenuity of Protestant Divines so vainly labours to explain away,—that we find the very strongest proof of the vital importance

* The Doctrine of Peter.—*Origin. de Princip.*

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attached, in the Christian scheme, to the establishment of the *verity* of Christ's flesh and blood. Nor can it be doubted that, as St. John's main object, in this Gospel, was to refute and extinguish that pernicious heresy which, by denying the reality of the flesh of Christ, would deprive mankind of the benefits of his Incarnation, so the stress which he here represents our Saviour as laying upon the ever blessed and life-giving effects of the Eucharist has evidently the same most momentous object in view,—showing emphatically that this miraculous Sacrament was, as it were, a sequel to the mystery of the Incarnation; and that the mighty privileges and benefits which the latter had procured for mankind, were, by the former, to be perpetuated and commemorated through all time.

That such was the light in which our Saviour himself represented this Sacrament, in that memorable discourse uttered by him in the Synagogue, at Capernaum, none but those who perversely wrest the word of God to their own rash judgments, will venture to deny. "One principal motive," says a learned Protestant writer, "that modern Divines have to deny that John vi. is to be taken of the Eucharist is this, viz. that the effects and consequences there attributed to the eating and drinking Christ's flesh and blood (especially that of eternal life and all evangelical blessings annexed to it) are too great and valuable to be applied to the Communion."*

Nothing can be more just or candid than this remark. Hence, in truth, all the wretched shifts resorted to by Church of England divines† for the purpose of robbing the

* *Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice.*

† Thus, Dr. Whitby, adopting, in matter-of-fact seriousness, that allegorical and anagogical mode of interpretation, which Clement of Alexandria and Origen employed to mystify their hearers, had the conscience to maintain that by the phrases "eating his flesh" and "drinking his blood," in John vi., Christ meant nothing more than "believing his doctrines!" On this opinion Johnson remarks,—"It must be owned that if our Saviour, by men's eating his flesh and drinking his blood, meant nothing but so obvious a thing as receiving him and his doctrine by faith and obedience, he clothed his thoughts in most unnatural language:" and again, "We may as properly be said to eat and drink the Trinity by believing in it as to eat the body of Christ by bare faith."

Next came Bishop Hoadley, who, rejecting all application of John vi. to the Eucharist whatever, described the discourse of our Saviour in the Synagogue as "only a very high figurative representation to

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Catholic doctrine of the support of this chapter, and enabling the Protestant to sink the miraculous character of the Eucharist down to the "low" view* taken of it by the Socinians and Hoadleyites. But the sense of all the great teachers of Christianity is against them; and, above all, of those earliest in the field of the Faith. The apostolical Ignatius, who had been the disciple of him "who wrote these things," and had doubtless heard, from the holy Penman's own lips, their true import and spirit, understood, manifestly, by the promise of Eternal Life conveyed on that occasion, no vaguely allegorical lesson of faith or doctrine, but a clear assurance of a happy resurrection and immortality, to be derived from that communion with the body of Christ which is enjoyed by eating his flesh and drinking his blood in the Eucharist. Hence it is that the holy Ignatius speaks of this Sacrament, in language which no other part of Scripture, but this Chapter of John, justifies;—calling it, on the strength of the privileges and virtues there annexed to it, the Medicine of Immortality and Antidote against Death.

How perfectly the view taken of the Eucharist by the Catholics, namely, that it was part and parcel of the mystery of the Incarnation,—was understood by the Gnostic Christians themselves, is evident from their conduct. For this reason was it that the Docetæ absented themselves,

the Jews then about him of their duty and obligation to receive to their hearts and digest his whole doctrine as the food and life of their souls." Dr. Waterland, who disapproved alike of Whitby's doctrinal interpretation and Hoadley's reduction of the Sacrament to a mere communicative Feast, is of opinion that the Chapter in question may be *applied* to the Eucharist, but not *interpreted* of it; and brings forward a theory of his own respecting "Spiritual Eating and Drinking," of the merits of which some judgment may be formed from the fact that, though disapproving of Whitby's notion of eating *doctrines*, he himself interprets a passage of St. Paul (Heb. xiii. 10.) to mean, eating *the Atonement!*—(*Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, p. 145.) In order to get rid, too, of the testimony of St. Ignatius to the true meaning of John vi., Dr. Waterland contends that this holy man, in speaking of his enjoyment of "the Bread of Life," had no reference whatever to the Eucharist in his thoughts, but, being then about to suffer martyrdom, was merely looking forward to the prospect of eating of Christ's Flesh, in the other world! p. 153. Such are the straits to which men are always sure to be driven who endeavour to make out a case where there is no case to be made.

* "If any person think this *a low character* of such a rite instituted by our Lord himself, upon so great and remarkable occasion," &c. &c.—*Bishop Hoadley, Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.*

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as we have seen, from public worship,—not that the sect, in general, entertained any objection to the Eucharist, according to their own fantastic and spiritualizing view of it, but because they were unwilling to sanction, by joining in communion with the orthodox, that belief in the *reality* of the flesh present which the latter, it was known, maintained.

That the Fathers regarded this Sacrament in the same light,—viewing it not only as a continuance, but as an extension of the Incarnation,*—a great abundance of passages might be adduced to prove. Thus, for instance, St. Gregory of Nyssa, draws a comparison between the two Mysteries:—"The body of Christ (says this Father) was by the inhabitation of the *Word* of God transmuted into a divine dignity, and so I now believe, that the bread sanctified by *the Word* of God is transmuted into the body of the Word of God. This bread, as the Apostle says, *is sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer*, not that, as food, it passes into the body, but that it is instantly changed into the body of Christ, agreeably to what he said, This is my Body. And therefore does the Divine Word commix itself with the weak nature of man, that, by partaking of the divinity, our humanity may be exalted."

In like manner, we find St. Ambrose pointing out the same analogy between the deified flesh and the deified bread. After asserting the dogma of Transubstantiation in its highest Catholic sense, he proceeds,—"We will now examine the truth of the mystery from the example itself of the Incarnation. Was the order of nature followed, when Jesus was born of a virgin? Plainly not. Then why is that order to be looked for here?" Many other passages, to the same purport, might be adduced from the Fathers: but it is needless to multiply citations. The very view taken by the early Christians of the miraculous change of the elements implies that they considered the Eucharist as a kindred mystery with that of the Incarnation;—as the wonderful

* By calling the Eucharist an extension of the Incarnation, they meant that while, in the latter mystery, Christ but joined himself to one individual nature, and to no one person, in the former he joins himself not only to all individual natures, but also to their very persons. "Eam quam idcirco Patres *Incarnationis extensionem* appellarunt. In illa enim uni individuæ naturæ sese adjunxit, nulli personæ; at in istâ se singulis individuis, imò etiam personis adjunxit."—*De Lingindes Conciones de Sanctissimo Eucharistiæ Sacramento.*

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means, in short, by which Christ perpetually renews his incarnate presence upon earth, and continues to feed his creatures with the same flesh by which he redeemed them.

CHAPTER XIV.

Concealment of the Doctrine of the Eucharist.—Proofs.—Calumnies on the Christians.—Protestant view of this Sacrament—*not* that taken by the early Christians.

When so great, as we have seen, was the solicitude and watchfulness with which the Church screened from the eyes of the profane all her other great dogmas, with no less jealous care would she conceal, or, at least, soften down, through the medium of enigmatic language, a doctrine so mysterious and astounding as that of the Real Presence,—the test most trying of all (*next*, perhaps, to the Trinity) of that implicit faith, by which, as by its sheet-anchor, the whole Christian scheme of salvation holds. Accordingly, we are not only expressly told that this dogma was among the most hidden deposites of the Secret, but the language employed by the few Fathers, who, in the third age, ventured to allude to it, shows with what sensitive caution they shrunk from any disclosure of its true nature. Thus Origen talks mysteriously and vaguely of "eating the offered breads, which by prayers *are made a certain holy body.*" St. Cyprian, too, in relating, with an awe that betrays his real belief, the miraculous circumstance of a warning having been given to some profaner of the Sacrament by a flame bursting forth from the box that held the consecrated bread, describes the box thus signalized, as "containing the *Holy Thing of the Lord.*"

Nothing, indeed, could show more strikingly both how awful were the associations with which they invested this mystery themselves, and how jealous was their fear lest it should become known to the infidel, than the language of another Father of this time, Tertullian, who, in

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representing to his wife the consequences of her marrying a Pagan after his death, says,—"You would, by marrying an infidel, thereby fall into this fault, that the Pagans would come to the knowledge of our mysteries. Will not your husband know what you taste *in secret*, before any other food; and, if he perceives bread, will he not image that it is what is so much spoken of?"—*Ad Uxorum, lib.* ii. *c.* 5. In the following century we find St. Basil alluding covertly to the Eucharist as "the Communion of *the Good Thing*;" and Epiphanius, when obliged to describe before uninitiated hearers, the Institution of this Sacrament, thus slurs over the particulars of that astounding event: "We see that our Lord took a thing in his hands, as we read in the Gospel, that he rose from table, that he resumed the things, and having given thanks, he said, this is my somewhat."

Even St. Gregory of Nyssa, by whom the great miracle of the Metastoicheiosis, or Transubstantiation, is put forth more boldly and definitely than by almost any of his predecessors, yet, in one of his most explicit passages on the subject, and in a writing too, intended expressly for the initiated, stops short, as if awe-struck, when about to mention the word "body," and leaves to the minds of his hearers to fill up the blank.—"These things he gives us by virtue of the blessing, changing the nature of the visible things into—that."

There can hardly, perhaps, be a better proof of the extreme secrecy with which this mystery was guarded than that Arnobius, who was but a Catechumen when he wrote upon Christianity, had been kept in such ignorance of the use made of wine in this rite, that in a passage where he reproaches, if I recollect right, the Pagans, with their libations to the Deities, he tauntingly demands of them, "What has God to do with wine?"*

Still enough, notwithstanding this system of reserve and secrecy, had transpired respecting the Christian doctrine of the Eucharist, to set the imagination and malevolence of unbelievers at work. Indistinct notions of dark, forbidden Feasts, where, it was said, flesh and blood were served up to the guests, became magnified by the fancies of the credulous into the most monstrous fictions,

* "Quid Deo cum vino est?"

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Stories were told and believed of the dreadful rites practised by the Christians in their Initiations;—of an infant covered with paste, being set before the new comer, on which he was required to inflict the first murderous stab, and then partake of its flesh and blood with the rest, as their common pledge of secrecy. It is not difficult, of course, to see, through all this disfigurement of calumny, the true doctrine of which the profane had caught these perverting glimpses.

By such monstrous imputations was it that some of the most cruel persecutions of the Christians were provoked and justified; and yet no power of cruelty, not the agonies of death itself, could wrest their secret from them. Had they seen nothing more in this sacrament than a simple type or memorial, such as the Arminian and Socinian consider it, they had but to say so, and not only persecution would have been thus foiled of its prey, but, what was of still dearer import to them, their creed would have won more ready acceptance. But no:—far more "hard to be understood" was the secret object of their worship; and, when asked, as they were frequently by the Pagans, "Why conceal what you adore?" their answer might have been, with truth, "*Because* we adore it." They saw, as the Catholics see to this day, what insulting profanation such doctrine is, in the hands of the incredulous, exposed to; in what mire of ridicule and blasphemy their "holy things" would be rolled; and, accordingly, even when threatened with torments to extort from them their secret, they saw but one duty before them—to be silent, and die.

Had Christian antiquity bequeathed to us, on the subject of the Eucharist, no other evidence than this solemn and significant silence,—had we not also the ancient Liturgies of the Church, and the catechetical writings of her Fathers, to bear ample testimony to the Catholic doctrine, on this point,—there still would have been, in this very mystery and silence, abundant evidence to convince any reasoning mind, that the Protestant notion of the Eucharist could *not* have been that entertained by the Primitive Christians. The simple history, in short, of this doctrine's reception and progress, through all its earlier stages, would be more than sufficient for such a purpose. For, to maintain that a mystery which, on its first

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promulgation, startled our Lord's disciples themselves,—which the Gnostic heretics of the first age shrunk from, as involving the doctrine of the Incarnation,—which the Pagans, from some indistinct glimpses of its real nature, represented as a murderous repast, a feast of "abominable meats,"—which by the Priests themselves who administered it was seldom spoken of but as a "tremendous mystery," one to be guarded from the eyes of the infidel, at the price of life itself,—to assert, that the dread object of all this concealment and worship, this amazement, horror, adoration, alarm, was nothing more than a simple sign or memorial, a mere representation of our Saviour's body and blood under the symbols of bread and wine, a sacramental food in which Christ's presence is figurative, not real, and to which, therefore, consisting as it does of mere bread and wine, to offer up any adoration is an act of idolatry,—to expect to have it believed, for a moment, by any one who has at all inquired into the subject, that such and no more was the sense attached to this divine ordinance by the first Christians, is, on the part of the Protestants, I must say, a most gross and wholesale demand of that implicit faith, from others, of which they are so perilously sparing themselves.

When again, too, after contemplating all those awful circumstances which marked the reception and observance of this rite among mankind, we look back to the stupendous occasion on which it was first instituted; when we recollect the dreadful denunciations of the Apostle against such as, by irreverence to this Sacrament, are "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," and remember that some, among the Corinthians, who "discerned not the Lord's body," were smitten by God with diseases and death,*—we cannot but marvel at the responsibility those Christians take upon themselves, who venture to cast off the ancient Faith, upon this most vital of its doctrines; who, first, refining away our Saviour's solemn declaration on the subject,† dispose, in the same manner,

* 1 Corinth. xi. 30.

† As the Reformer, Zuinglius, took the liberty of altering Christ's language, and reads, "This *signifies* my body," so Bishop Hoadley, in like manner, presumes to supply a word which he thinks wanting, and makes it "This *I call* my body." It is remarkable enough, indeed, that Protestants who are so much for referring to the language of Scripture, on every occasion, should yet, in this important instance,

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of the Apostle's comment upon that text; and, in the very face of his denouncements against those who "*discern not the Lord's body*" in this Sacrament, venture deliberately to deny that the Lord's body is there!

CHAPTER XV.

Concealment of the Eucharist—most strict in Third Century.—St. Cyprian—his timidity—favourite Saint of the Protestants.—Alleged proofs against Transubstantiation.—Theodoret.—Gelasius.—Believers in the Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist, Erasmus, Pascal, Sir Thomas More, Fenelon, Leibnitz, &c.

FROM what I have said, in the preceding Chapter, of the system of mystery and restraint which the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, but more particularly of the former, thought it politic to impose upon themselves in speaking of the Eucharist, it will not be deemed wonderful that there should occur passages in their public writings and discourses, which, being intended by them to be ambiguous, have fully attained that object; and that, designed originally as such passages were to veil the truth from the unbeliever and the heretic, they should, to eyes wilfully blind, still perform the same office. The only wonder, indeed, is, taking all the circumstances we have here reviewed into consideration, that the number of passages affording this sort of handle to misapprehension should have been so inconsiderable; and that, notwithstanding all the fastidious caution of the Fathers, on this subject, such a mass of explicit evidence should still be found in their writings;—evidence so abundant and convincing as, with any unbiassed mind, to place the truth

question its most express and simple declaration,—a declaration repeated, in almost exactly the same words by three of the Evangelists, as well as by St. Paul, and explained, exactly in the same sense, by our Saviour, in the discourse reported by St. John. "Unam perpetuò says an obscure, but sensible writer) Scripturam clamitant; set ubiventum est ad eam, auditis quomodo legant. Tam aperta sunt verba; in omnibus Evangelistis sunt eadem. Omnia tamen pervertunt, omnia ad hæresim suum trahunt."

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of the Catholic doctrine, respecting the Eucharist, beyond all question.

It was in the third century, when the followers of Christ were most severely tried by the fires of persecution, that the discipline of secrecy, with respect to this and the other mysteries, was most strictly observed. "A faithful concealment," says Tertullian, "is due to all mysteries from the very nature and constitution of them. How much more must it be due to *such mysteries as, if they were once discovered, could not escape immediate punishment from the hand of man.*"—(Ad Nation. L. 1.) It may be conceived with what peculiar force such a motive to secrecy would be likely to act upon minds naturally timid,—such as that of St. Cyprian, for instance, whose indisposition to martyrdom, however firmly he at last met it, when inevitable, was evinced on more than one occasion when he prudently withdrew himself from its grasp. We find, accordingly, in conformity with this timidity of character, that, among the observers of the Discipline of the Secret, he is allowed to have been one of the most circumspect and close.

It is, indeed, curious, not only as illustrative of the character of the individual, but as part of that kindred destiny which seems to have attended, throughout, the two Catholic dogmas of the Trinity and the Real Presence, that the same cautious St. Cyprian who, in his public letter to the Proconsul of Africa, thought it prudent to keep the Trinity entirely out of sight, should have been also the individual who, by his evasive language, concerning the Eucharist, has been the means of furnishing the opponents of a real, corporal Presence with almost the only semblance of plausible authority by which they support their heresy.* Little did he think, good Saint, that a day would come, when this prudence or timidity, would be made to pass for orthodoxy, and when,—sturdy a stickler as he was for the supremacy of the Roman See,—he should attain the eminence, such as it is, of being the prime Saint of Protestants!

* Even St. Cyprian, however, could not help, on occasion, letting the doctrine escape. Thus he says that, in the Eucharist, "we touch Christ's body and drink his blood;" and, in an Epistle to Pope Cornelius, speaking of the victims of persecution, he says, "How shall we teach them to shed their blood for Christ, if, before they go to battle, we do not give them *his* blood?"

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It would be amusing,—were not so awful a point of faith the subject of such trifling,—to observe the self-complacent triumph with which a Protestant controvertist sits brooding over one of these intentionally unmeaning passages of the Fathers, hatching it into an argument. It matters not that the holy writer from whom the passage is extracted has, in a hundred others, pregnant both with meaning and with truth, borne testimony to the belief of his Church in that mighty miracle,—that fulfilment of a God's express promise which takes place under the veil of the Eucharist. It matters not:—the one convenient passage is alone brought forward again and again; the professional controvertist must still show himself in the lists, however "falsified"* his armour; and though *self*-deception is not always practicable in such cases, the great point is still gained of deceiving others.

The argument drawn from the occasional application of the words "type," "sign," "figure," &c. to the Eucharist, I have already disposed of; and a large proportion of the passages cited, as favourable to the Protestant side of the question, come under this predicament. One of the most triumphant pieces of evidence, however, (as they themselves consider it,) which the champions of the Reformed Faith are in the habit of bringing forward to prove that Transubstantiation was not the belief of the early Church, is to be found in a passage or two from Theodoret and Gelasius (writers of the Fifth Century) in which it is asserted that the nature and substance of the sacramental elements remain after consecration. The extract from Theodoret I shall here transcribe, as well because it affords a curious insight into the operation of the Discipline of the Secret, as because it will show to what straits the opponents of the Catholic doctrine must be driven, when they can contrive to extract grounds for triumph from such testimony.

It is necessary to premise that the passage I am about to give is from a work written by Theodoret against the Eutychians (a sect of heretics who denied the human nature of Christ;†) and that, of the two fictitious persons

* "His shield is falsified"—a meaning of the word which Dryden attempted to introduce, from the Italian.

† It cannot be said correctly that Eutyches denied the humanity of Christ,—his belief being that, after the incarnation, there was no longer any distinction between the divine and human nature, but

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who discuss the question together, Orthodoxus represents the Catholic, and Eranistes the Eutychian. Having established, in a preceding Dialogue, the reality of Christ's presence in the Sacrament, the speakers thus proceed:—*Eran.* I am happy you have mentioned the Divine Mysteries. Tell me, therefore, what do you call the gift that is offered before the Priest's invocation?—*Orth.* This must not be said openly; for some may be present who are not initiated.—*Eran.* Answer then in hidden terms.—*Orth.* We call it an aliment made of certain grains.—*Eran.* And how do you call the other symbol?—*Orth.* We give it a name that denotes a certain beverage.—*Eran.* And, after the consecration, what are they called?—*Orth.* The body of Christ and the blood of Christ.—*Eran.* And you believe that you partake of the body and blood of Christ?—*Orth.* So I believe.—*Eran.* As the symbols then of the body and blood of Christ were different before the consecration of the Priest, and, after that consecration, become changed, and are something else, in the same manner we Eutychians say, the body of Christ after his ascension was changed into the divine essence.—*Orth.* Thou art taken in thy own snare; for, after the consecration, the mystical symbols lose not their proper nature; they remain both in the figure and appearance of their former substance, to be seen, and to be felt, as before; but they are understood to be what they have been made; this they are believed to be, and as such they are adored."

We have here (in a conference, be it remembered, supposed to have passed before the non-initiated) three no less important points acknowledged than,—first a change into "something else" of the symbols after consecration,*—secondly, a Real Presence of the body and blood of Christ,—and, thirdly, adoration paid to the Sa-

that the latter had been absorbed into the former, as a drop of honey, according to his illustration, would be swallowed up on falling into the sea. By the Council of Chalcedon which, in 451, condemned this heresy, the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity was at length fully established;—the union of the *two* distinct natures in Christ, and its correspondence with that of the *three* persons in the Godhead, being then definitely laid down.

* The same writer, in another place, asserts it to be Christ's "will that we should believe in a change made by Grace" in the symbols:—*εβουληθη . . . . . πιστευειν τη εκ της χαριτος γεγενημενη μεταβολη.*

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crament, in consequence. The only doubt the passage admits of is, whether, contrary to the Catholic doctrine on the subject, Orthodoxus means to assert that the substance of the bread and wine remains after consecration; or whether, as the Catholic writers answer, the word "substance," as here used, means merely the external or sensible qualities of the elements,—those which, as Theodoret says, may be "seen and felt as before." The phrase "*former* substance," which seems to imply that a second substance has taken the place of the first, might certainly warrant the assumption that the whole passage was meant orthodoxly; but the fairest conclusion, perhaps to come to (and the Catholic can well afford to be candid on this head,) is that Theodoret may have had some such vague notion, as Luther, afterwards, contrary to the sense of all Christian antiquity, adopted, of the presence of the substance of Christ's body and blood, in the sacrament, *together with* the substance of the bread and wine. On turning indeed, to the volume of this Father's works, edited by Garnier, I find it to have been the opinion of that learned Jesuit—after an impartial inquiry into the exact belief of his author, respecting the *modus* of Christ's presence, that Theodoret had, on the whole, a leaning to the Consubstantial heresy.

Such, taken at its very worst, is the full extent of that lapse from orthodoxy into which, at most, two Fathers, out of the whole sacred band of the first five centuries, can be said to have fallen on this subject,—the apparent deviations of others being, as I have shown, easily accounted for,—and such the quantum and quality of that evidence against the doctrine of the ancient Catholic Church which every successive champion of Protestantism brings forward, each triumphing in the discovery of the same worn out Fools' Paradise. The true view of such insulated instances of heterodoxy is to be found in the following remarks which the subject has drawn forth from the editor of that valuable compilation, "The Faith of Catholics:"—"Should it be conceded that there is ambiguity in these expressions, or that even the authors of them meant to convey a sense, in our estimation, heterodox, how light must their authority be, when balanced against the massive evidence of so many writers of their own age, and of the preceding centuries!—'Since the

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ancients,' says Erasmus, 'to whom the Church, not without reason, gives so much authority, are all agreed in the opinion, that the true substance of the body and blood of Jesus is in the Eucharist; since, in addition to all this has been added the constant authority of the Synods, and so perfect an agreement of the Christian world, let us also agree with them in this heavenly mystery, and let us receive, here below, the bread and the chalice of the Lord, under the veil of the species, until we eat and drink him without veil in the kingdom of God.'"

To this citation from Erasmus, I shall add another from a writer worthy to be named along with that great man, the pious and powerful Pascal, by whom the views of the Eucharist presented in the above sentences are thus more fully unfolded:—"The state of Christians, as Cardinal du Perron, in accordance with the opinions of the Fathers, remarks, holds a middle place between the state of the Blessed and that of the Jews. The Blessed possess Jesus Christ really, without figure and without veil. The Jews possessed of Christ only the figures and the veils,—such as were the Manna and the Paschal Lamb; and the Christians possess Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, veritably and really, but still covered with a veil..... Thus is the Eucharist completely suited to the state of faith in which we are placed, since it contains Christ within it really, but still Christ veiled. Insomuch that this state would be destroyed, were Christ not really under the species of bread and wine, as the heretics pretend: and it would be also destroyed, did we receive him unveiled as they do in heaven; seeing that this would be to confound our state, in the former case, with that of Judaism, in the latter, with that of Glory."

The reader who has thus far accompanied me from the beginning of my inquiries, and who knows the dogged resolution to turn Protestant with which I set out, will feel anxious, perhaps, to be informed whether, at the period where we are now arrived, any traces of my original resolve still lingered in my mind; or whether, with proofs clear as daylight, before my eyes, of the true holiness of my "first love," I had still lurking in my heart any desire of apostasy to another. Alas, so humiliating would be the confession and explanations which an attempt to answer this inquiry must draw from me, that most willingly do I

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reserve them for some future opportunity; and, in the mean time, shall only say that it was not from any blindness to the light,—from any want of a deep conviction of the truths that had opened upon me, if, at the bottom of my heart, some worldly longings still lingered. There even *were* moments (such as I experienced on reading the passages just cited) when the unworthy "spirit of the world" died away within me,—when such a flood of religious feelings came over my heart as would not suffer any baser thoughts to live in their current, and when I was, in soul and mind, all Catholic, without a "shadow of turning." In this mood was it that, after closing the pages of the two great men I have just mentioned, I went to my pillow, pondering over the long list of illustrious sages,—the Erasmuses, Pascals, Fenelons, Leibnitzes, Sir Thomas Mores,—who have each, in turn, bowed, with implicit faith, before the miracles of the Eucharist, till, elevated above my own conscious nothingness by the contemplation of such men, I found myself, as I laid down my head, fervently saying, "Let my soul be with theirs!"

CHAPTER XVI.

Relaxation of the Discipline of the Secret, on the subject of the Trinity.—Doctrine of the Real Presence still concealed.—The Eucharists of the Heretics.—The Artoturites, Hydroparastatæ, &c.—St. Augustin a strict observer of the Secret.—Similar fate of Transubstantiation and the Trinity.

About the beginning of the fourth century, the Discipline of the Secret had been, on some important points, considerably relaxed; and though the Eucharist still continued to be guarded with some strictness, the doctrine of the Trinity was, by degrees, suffered to escape from behind the veil. The Edict of Toleration which was, at that period, issued by Constantine, gave to the Christians full security in the promulgation of their opinions; while

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the schism of Arius, by calling into question the divinity of the Saviour, not only rendered a declaration of the Church's doctrine on this subject necessary, but led naturally, from the sifting controversies to which it gave rise, to a more definite marking out the frontiers of Trinitarian orthodoxy than had yet been attempted. Still it was but by slow and cautious degrees that the entire dogma, in its perfect form, as acknowledged now, was developed. I have before quoted a passage from a Father of this age where he says, "Of the Mysteries concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, we do not speak plainly before the Catechumens;" and, according to the learned Huet (himself a Catholic,) "it is certain that the Catholics durst not plainly own the divinity of the Holy Spirit so late as the days of Basil."

In the mean time, the doctrine of the Real Presence, —following, for once, a fate different from that of its fellow mystery, the Trinity,—continued, as usual, to be whispered, in the inner shrines, to the neophyte, while, as Gregory of Nyssa informs us, the Eternal Sonship was become a topic of dispute among the lowest mechanics. Had any schism respecting the Eucharist taken place within the Church, the necessity of defending the doctrine would have led doubtless, as in the case of the Trinity, to the divulging of it. But no such schism had occurred. Those among the Gnostic sects who adopted the Eucharist, though they denied the real humanity of Christ's body, did not question its presence in the sacrament, while some of them even believed, with the orthodox, in a change of the elements, by the power of the Holy Spirit. "The things," says the heretic, Theodotus, "are not what they appeared to be, or what they are apprehended to be; but by the power (of the Spirit are) changed into a spiritual power."*

One of these sects, indeed, proceeded so far, in rivalry of the Catholic Eucharist, as to contrive, by some mechanical process, to produce the appearance of blood flowing into the chalice,† after the words of consecra-

* Ὁ αρτος αγιαζεται τη δυναμει του πνευματος, ου τα αυτα οντα κατα το φαινομενον οια ειληφθη, αλλα δυναμει ις δυναμιν πνευματικην μεταβεβληται.

† "Il (Marc) avoit deux vases, un plus grand et un plus petit; il

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tion,—thereby outdoing, as they, thought, the orthodox in, at least, the outward show of the miracle. In thus counterfeiting, by means of real liquid, that blood of which they, at the same time, *denied* the reality, these heretics were, of course, as absurd as knavish; but the testimony which their tricks bear to the antiquity of the Catholic doctrine is not the less valuable. Were any additional proof, indeed, wanting of the prevalence, in those times, of a belief in the transubstantiation of the wine into blood, this effort of the Marcionite heretics to outbid, if I may so say, the orthodox altar in its marvels would abundantly furnish it.

There were also some other sects, besides the Gnostic, that adopted peculiar notions of their own respecting this sacrament. The Artoturites, for instance, a branch of the Montanists, offered bread and cheese in their religious rites. The Hydroparastatæ, from a regard to sobriety, used only water in the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Among the Ophites, who worshipped the serpent that tempted Eve, the sacrament consisted of a loaf, round which a serpent they kept always sacredly in a cage had been suffered to crawl and twine himself; and there was a sect of Manichæans who, holding bread to be one of the productions of the Evil Principle, kneeded up the paste of which they composed their Eucharist in a way too abominable to be mentioned.

These heresies, however, though on so vital a point of doctrine, yet, having been engendered out of the pale of the church,* and being, all of them, with the exception of that of the Phantasticks, limited and obscure, were not thought important enough to break the silence of the Church respecting this mystery. The doctrine of the Real Presence, therefore, undisturbed by dissent and sacred from controversy, was left, partly through policy

mettoit le vin destiné à la célébration du sacrifice de la Messe dans le petit vase, et faisoit une prière : un instant après la liqueur bouillonnoit dans le grand vase, et l'on y voyoit du sang au lieu du vin. Ce vase n'étoit apparemment que ce que l'on appelle communément la fontaine des noôces de Cana : c'est un vase dans lequel on verse de l'eau, versée fait monter du vin que l'on a mis auparavant dans ce vase et dont il se remplit."—*Mémoires pour servir a l'Histoire des Egaremens de l'Esprit Humain, &c. &c.*

* St. Cyprian, on being consulted respecting the nature of Novitian's errors, answers, "There is no need of a strict inquiry *what errors* he teaches, while he *teaches out of the Church.*"

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and partly through habit, enshrined in all its forms of mystery during the whole of the fourth century; and how well the secret was still guarded from the Catechumens as late as the time of St. Augustin may be seen from the following remarkable passage:—"Christ does not commit himself to Catechumens. Ask a Catechumen, Dost thou believe?—He answers, I do, and signs himself with the cross of Christ; he is not ashamed of the cross of Christ, but bears it in his forehead. If we ask him, however, Dost thou eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man? he knows not what we mean, for Christ hath not committed himself to him. Catechumens do not know what Christians receive."*

St. Augustin himself, from the peculiar circumstances of his position, was induced occasionally, on this subject, to adopt a reserve and ambiguity of language which are not to be found, in the same degree, in any of the writers of his period. Living, as he did, in Africa, where the population was still, for the greater part, Pagan, he deemed it prudent, evidently, to follow the ancient practice of the Church, and in the presence of all but the Faithful, to speak of this Mystery with caution. Hence is it that, though in none of the other Fathers are there to be found passages more strongly confirmatory of the ancient and Catholic faith,† on this point, he has, in some instances, employed language of whose vagueness and ambiguity the Sacramentarians have, as usual, taken advantage for the bolstering up of their desperate cause.‡

* "Interrogemus eum, Manducas carnem Filii Hominis et bibis sanguinem? Nescit quid dicimus, quia Jesus non se credidit ei. Nesciunt Catechumeni quid accipiant Christiani."—*Tractat. in Joann.*

† Alger, who defended the doctrine of Transubstantiation against Berenger, refuted him chiefly, if not entirely, by passages out of St. Augustin.

‡ Even by Zuingle, however, it is not asserted that St. Augustin was against transubstantiation, but merely that he *would* have been so, could he have ventured to express his opinion freely. This he was forced, says Zuingle, in some measure, to conceal on account of the very general prevalence which the belief in a real fleshly Presence had, at that time, obtained.—*De ver. et fals. religione.* And here, we may be allowed to ask, how is this admission of Zuingle, with respect to the prevalence of such a belief in the time of St. Augustin, to be reconciled with that other favourite theory of the Protestants, which supposes the doctrine of Transubstantiation to have been first introduced by the monk, Paschasius, in the ninth century? But it is useless to ask such questions,—there being, in fact, no end to the inconsistencies and contrarieties of Protestants on this subject.

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How barefaced, however, must be the assurance that would claim St. Augustin as a Protestant authority on this head, will appear by the following extracts from his writings:—"When, committing to us his body, he said, *This is my body*, Christ was held in his own hands. He bore that body in his hands."—*Enarrat.* 1. *in Psalm* 33.—Again, in another Sermon on the same Psalm, he thus, in the mystic language of the Secret, expresses himself:—"How was he borne in his hands? Because when *he gave his own body and blood*, he took into his hands *what the Faithful know*;* and he bore *Himself* in a certain manner, when he said, '*This is my body.*'"—In his Exposition of the 98th Psalm, he says, "Christ took upon him earth from the earth, because flesh is from the earth, and this flesh he took from the flesh of Mary: and because he here walked in this flesh, *even this same flesh he gave us to eat* for our salvation;—but no one eateth this flesh without having *first adored* it; and not only we do not sin by adoring, but we *even sin* by *not adoring it.*"

It was my intention originally, as the reader possibly recollects, not to include the Fathers of the fifth century,—to which period Augustin more properly belongs, within the range of these inquiries; but an exception, in favour of so important an authority, will without difficulty be admitted. The brief history, too, which I have attempted to give of the Eucharist, through the "aurea secula" of the church, would have been left imperfect without the testimony which the passage, just cited, furnishes; a testimony valuable, as proving the general belief of a Real Presence in this Sacrament, by that best practical evidence, the adoration paid to it,—the belief and the practice implying reciprocally each other.

I have already intimated that most of the writers con-

* *Quod norunt fideles.*"—These words, or, as expressed in Greek, *ἴσασιν οἱ πεμυημένοι*, formed what may be called the watch-word of the Secret, and occur constantly in the Fathers. Thus St. Chrysostom, for instance,—in whose writings Casaubon remarked the recurrence of this phrase, at least, fifty times,—in speaking of the tongue (Comment. in Psalm 143.) says, "Reflect that this is the member with which we receive the tremendous sacrifice,—*the Faithful know what I speak of.*" Hardly less frequent is the occurrence of the same phrase in St. Augustin, who seldom ventures to intimate the Eucharist in any other way than by the words "Quod nôrunt Fideles."

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temporary with, or just preceding St. Augustin, have, as compared with him, spoken frankly on the subject of the Eucharist. It was not possible, indeed, that such a development as, about this period, took place of a doctrine hitherto so enshrined in obscurity as was the Trinity, should not encourage by degrees a boldness of language and thought which would show itself in the assertion of the other great mysteries. Accordingly we find,—not only in the catechetical discourses of this time, but even in writings more intended for the public eye,—a far more explicit testimony to the doctrine of the Real Presence and of the change of substance than had been ventured on since the days of St. Justin and St. Irenæus. It is worthy of remark, too,—as adding another illustration to the many I have already noticed of the similar fate that has, in most instances, attended these twin mysteries, Transubstantiation and the Trinity,—that the same eminent men who, in the fourth century, carried the latter dogma to that high region of orthodoxy where it stands fixed at present, were also those who asserted most boldly the entire Catholic doctrine respecting the Eucharist;—the same Gregory of Nyssa who held that "the bread sanctified by the Word of God was transmuted into the body of the Word of God," having been also the strenuous maintainer of the doctrine, "that there was a whole Son in a whole Father, and a whole Father in a whole Son;" and the same Gregory of Nazianzum who desired his hearers "not to stagger in their souls, but, without shame or doubting, to eat the body and drink the blood," having likewise told them that "whoever maintains that any of the Three Persons is inferior to the others overturns the whole Trinity."

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CHAPTER XVII.

Fathers of the Fourth Century.—Proofs of their doctrine respecting the Eucharist.—Ancient Liturgies.

HAVING now laid before my reader the whole process of thought and inquiry by which that phantom of Protestantism which had, as I fancied, beckoned to me out of the pages of St. Clement and St. Cyprian was again explained away into "thin air," I shall now select a few of the innumerable passages that abound throughout the writings of the fourth century, bearing testimony incontrovertible to the true nature both of the Blessed Eucharist itself, and of all the rites and doctrines connected with that mystery,—the altar, the oblation, the unbloody sacrifice, the real presence of the victim, the change of substance, and, as the natural consequence of all, the adoration.

*St. James of Nisibis.**—"Our Lord *gave his body with his own hands*, for food; and *his blood for drink*, before he was crucified."†—*Serm.* 14.

"Abstain from all uncleanness, and then receive the body and blood of Christ. Cautiously guard your *mouth, through which the Lord has entered*, and be it no longer a passage to words of uncleanness."—*Serm.* 3.

* A distinguished Bishop who assisted at the Council of Nice, in 325, and was, as Cave describes, him "doctrinæ orthodoxæ vindex primarius." This Father, indeed, deserves to be included among those mentioned in the preceding Chapter as having maintained an equally high tone of orthodoxy in both the great Christian mysteries, the Trinity and the Real Presence.

† "Christ offered himself, as a Priest, before his crucifixion."—See *Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice.*—This learned Protestant, who, like Grabe, Chillingworth, and other ornaments of the same Church, was sufficiently open to the light of truth to adhere to the ancient Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, thus expresses himself on the subject in another part of his work:—"I suppose all Protestants will allow that Christ's sacrifice was intended for the expiation of sin; and, if so, they cannot think it strange that it was offered before it was slain, and that by the Priest himself;—for it is clear this was the method prescribed by Moses of old."—And, again, "We may safely conclude that he did then offer himself, while alive; especially since sacrifices of expiation and consecration were, of old, thus offered by the Priest before they were slain."

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St. Ephrem of Edessa.—"Consider, my beloved, with what fear those stand before the throne, who wait on a mortal King. *How much more does it behoove us to appear before the heavenly King with fear and trembling, and with awful gravity*? Hence it becomes us not boldly to look on the mysteries, that lie before us, of the body and blood of our Lord."—*Paræn.* 19. "*The eye of faith manifestly beholds the Lord, eating his body and drinking his blood, and indulges no curious inquiry.** You believe that Christ, the Son of God, for you was born in the flesh. Then why do you search into what is inscrutable? Doing this, you prove your curiosity, not your faith. *Believe, then, and with a firm faith receive the body and blood of our Lord.*"—De Nat. Dei.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem.†—"The bread and wine which before the invocation of the Adorable Trinity were no-

* The counsel here given, not to pry curiously into the mysteries of the Faith, is inculcated frequently in the writings of the Fathers. Thus St. Ambrose says, "Manum ori admove;—scrutari non licet superna mysteria." (*De Abrah. Patr.*) St. Cyril of Alexandria lays it down, too, with equal solemnity, that all curiosity is to be refrained from in matters of faith:—το πιστει παραδεκτον απολυπραγμονητον ειναι χρη.—Had the Fathers themselves somewhat more attended to this caution, much of the trifling speculation into which they have entered, touching the manner into which Christ's body unites itself with the bodies of those who receive it, would have been, with advantage, avoided. St. Cyril of Alexandria compares the union which thus takes place to that of lead with silver; while another Father sees in it a resemblance to the mixing up of leaven with paste. A third says it is like the melting of one piece of wax into another; while, by some, an illustration of the mystery is sought for, in the manner in which medicine passes into the entrails.

Such attempts to solve what is inexplicable but afford triumph to the infidel and the heretic; and, accordingly, in the controversy which gave rise to the celebrated work, "De la Perpétuité de la Foi," we find the Reformed Ministers profanely reproaching the Catholics with believing that the body of Christ is received "comme on mange des pilules."

† The Discourses of St. Cyril, from which these extracts are taken, were addressed to those Christians who were newly baptized, and who had, therefore, but recently been admitted to the Mysteries.

The learned and Protestant author of a very useful work, lately published, (Clarke's *Succession of Ecclesiastical Literature*) expresses strong doubts as to the authenticity of these Discourses of Cyril, but omits to assign any reasons for his doubts. We have against him, indeed, high Protestant authorities. "To question," says Cave, "whether these Discourses be Cyril's (as some have done) is foolish and trifling; when they are not only quoted by Damascen, but expressly mentioned by St. Jerome, and cited by Theodoret, the one contemporary with him, the others flourishing but a few years after him."

The distinguished theologian, Bishop Bull, contends, also, most stre-

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thing but bread and wine, *become, after this invocation, the body and blood of Christ.*"—Catech. Mystag. 1. "The *Eucharistic bread*, after the invocation of the Holy Spirit, *is no longer common bread, but the body of Christ.*" —Catech. 3. "As then Christ, speaking of the bread, declared, and said, 'This is my body,' who shall dare to doubt it? And as, speaking of the wine, he positively assured us, and said, 'This is my blood,' who shall doubt it and say that it is not his blood?"—*Catech. Myst.* 4. "Jesus Christ, in Cana of Galilee, *once changed water into wine by his will only;* and shall we think him less worthy of credit, *when he changes wine into blood?*"—Ibid. "Wherefore, I conjure you, my brethren, not to consider them any more as common bread and wine, since they are the body and blood of Jesus Christ according to his words; and, although your sense might suggest that to you, let faith confirm you. *Judge not of the thing by your taste, but by faith assure yourself, without the least doubt, that you are honoured with the blood and body of Christ:—this knowing, and of this being assured, that what appears to be bread is not bread, though it be taken for the bread by the taste, but is the body of Christ; and that which appears to be wine, is not the wine, though the taste will have it so, but the blood of Christ.*"—Ibid.*

St. Basil.—"About the things that God has spoken there should be no hesitation nor doubt, but a *firm persuasion that all is true and possible, though Nature be*

nuously against those who would contest the authenticity of these Catecheses, and the opinions of Vossius, Whitaker, and other learned Protestants, may be cited on the same side.

* St. Cyril of Alexandria, who lived in the succeeding century, is, if any thing, still more express and emphatic in asserting a real, corporal Presence than his namesake of Jerusalem. Thus, in his Homily on the Mystic Supper, he pronounces Christ to be "both Priest and Victim, him that offers and that is offered." In his Commentary on St. John, too, we find the following passages:—"And what is the meaning and the efficacy of this Mystic Eucharist? is it not that Christ may *corporally dwell in us by the participation and communion of his holy flesh?*"—"By the mediation of Christ, therefore, we enter into a union with God the Father, receiving him within us, *corporally* and *spiritually*, who by nature truly is the Son, and consubstantial with him."

Another Holy Father, Isidore of Pelusium, who lived at the commencement of the same age, and was one of the Disciples of St. Chrysostom, thus, in writing against Macedonius, who denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, brings, as a proof of the Spirit's Divine nature, the miracle of Transubstantiation:—"Since it is he who, on the mysterious table, *produces from common bread the very body of Jesus Christ incarnate.*"—Ep. ad Marathon. Monach.

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*against it.** Herein lies the struggle of faith."—*Regula* viii. *Moral.* "The words of the Lord, 'This is my body, which shall be delivered for you,' create a firm conviction."—*Ibid. in Reg. Brev.*

St. Gregory of Nyssa.—"What is this medicine? *No other than that the body which was shown to be more powerful than death, and was the beginning of our life, and which could not otherwise enter into our bodies than by eating and drinking.* Now, we must consider, how it can be, that one body, which so constantly, through the whole world, is distributed to so many thousands of the faithful, can be whole in each receiver, and itself remain whole.† This bread, as the Apostle says, is sanctified by the Word of God and prayer,—not that, as food, it passes into the body, but that it is *instantly changed into the body of Christ*, agreeably to what he said, 'This is my body.'"‡—*Orat. Catech.*

St. Gregory of Nazianzum.—"The law puts a staff in your hand, that you may not stagger in your souls, when you hear of the blood, passion and death of God: but rather *without shame and doubting, eat the body and drink the blood*, if you sigh after life, never doubting of what you hear concerning his flesh, nor scandalized at his passion."—*Orat.* 42.

St. Ambrose.—"*Perhaps you will say, why do you tell me that I receive the body of Christ, when I see quite another thing?* We have this point, therefore, to prove. How many examples do we produce to show you that *this is not what nature made it, but what the benediction has consecrated it;* and that the benediction is of greater force than nature, *because, by the benedic-*

* Παν ρημα Θεου αληθες ειναι και δυνατον, καν η φυσις μαχηται.

† Bonaventura illustrates this miracle by the example of a mirror, which, when broken, repeats, in each several fragment, the same entire image which it had reflected, when whole.

‡ "The thirty-seventh Chapter (of Gregory of Nyssa's Great Catechetical Discourse) treats of the Eucharist, where he fully and clearly avows the doctrine of the Real Presence—Καλως ουν και νυν τον τω λογω του Θεου αγιαζομενον αρτον εις σωμα του Θεου Λογου μεταποιεισθαι πιστευομαι."—*Clarke's Succession*, &c. It is, in like manner, acknowledged by the learned Protestant, Dr. Grabe, that Gregory of Nyssa and Cyril of Jerusalem both assert, in their writings, that the substance of bread in the Eucharist is transferred into the flesh of Christ which he took of the Virgin.

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tion, nature itself is changed. Moses cast his rod on the ground, and it became a serpent; he caught hold of the serpent's tail, and it recovered the nature of a rod. . . . . Thou hast read of the Creation of the world: *if Christ, by his word, was able to make something out of nothing, shall he not be thought able to change one thing into another?*"*—De Mysteriis.

St. Jerome.—"Moses gave us not the true bread, but our Lord Jesus did. *He invites us to the feast, and is himself our meat: he eats with us, and we eat him.*"—Ep. 150, ad Hedib.

St. Gaudentius of Brescia.—"In the shadows and figures of the ancient Pasch, not one lamb, but many were slain, for each house had its sacrifice, because one victim could not suffice for all the people: and also because the mystery was a mere figure, and not the reality of the passion of the Lord. For the figure of a thing is not the reality, but only the image and representation of the thing signified. But now, when the figure has ceased, the one that died for all, immolated in the mystery of bread and wine, gives life through all the churches,† and,

* Of this Discourse of St. Ambrose, the writer, referred to in the preceding note, says—"Had a work been *now* written on the Roman Catholic practice and doctrine of Baptism and *the Lord's Supper*, it *could not more fully assert the Papal creed on these points* than this Discourse." (*Clarke's Succession of Sacred Literature.*) After such admissions as this,—and no Protestant, with candour and knowledge, will gainsay its truth,—what becomes, I again ask, of the old wives' tale still harped upon occasionally by a few worn-out controversialists, which would represent Transubstantiation as an *invention* of the *ninth* century?

In the Treatise *de Sacramentis*, attributed to St. Ambrose, we find equally strong and clear proofs of this Father's belief in Transubstantiation. As, for instance, "Though they may seem to be the figure of the bread and wine, yet, after the consecration, they must be believed to be the flesh and blood and nothing else." In noticing the doubts that have been raised as to the authenticity of this particular Treatise, Mr. Clarke observes, "The arguments seem strong against it; but, however it may be, it is clear, from the ascertained productions of this author, that the doctrines contained in it are in accordance with his opinions; and the Real Presence, and the forms and ceremonies, &c. of Baptism, are just such as St. Ambrose would have delivered."

† Such passages as this, which abound in the writers of the fourth age, attributing a life-giving effect to the participation of the Eucharis[illegible] rly that the sixth chapter of St. John was under-s[illegible] rring to that Sacrament. In this sense, Julius [illegible] the fourth age, calls the Eucharistic chalice "po-[illegible] d adds, that bestows upon the dying the gift of [illegible] hat do they hold (says St. Augustin) who call

being consecrated, sanctifies those who consecrate. . . . . He who is the Creator and Lord of all natures, who produces bread from the earth, *of the bread makes his own proper body* (for he is able, and he promised to do it) and who of water made wine, and of wine his blood."—*Tract.* 11, *de Pasch.*

St. John Chrysostom.—"Let us believe God in every thing, and not gainsay him, *although what is said may seem contrary to our reason and our sight.** Let his word overpower both. *Thus let us do in mysteries, not looking only on the things that lie before us, but holding fast his words; for his word cannot deceive! but our sense is very easily deceived.* Since then his word says, 'This is my body,' let us assent and believe, and view it with the eyes of our understanding."—*Homil.* 82, *in Matt.* "As many as partake of this body, as many as taste of this blood, *think ye it nothing different from that which sits above, and is adored by angels.*"—Homil. 3, in c. 1, ad Ephes. "Wonderful!—the table is spread with mysteries, the Lamb of God is slain for thee, and the spiritual blood flows from the sacred table. The spiritual fire comes down from heaven; the blood in the chalice is drawn from the spotless side for thy purification. *Thinkest thou that thou seest bread? that thou seest wine? that these things pass off as other foods do? Far be it from thee to think so. But, as wax brought near to the fire loses its former substance which no longer remains; so do thou thus conclude, that the mysteries* (the bread and wine) *are consumed by the substance of the Body.*"—Hom. 9, de Pœnit. "But are there many Christs, as the offering is made in many places? By no means: it is the same Christ every where; here entire, and there entire, one body. As then, though offered in many places, there is one body, and not many bodies; so is there one sacrifice."—*Hom.* 17, *in c.* 9, *ad Hebr.*

St. Maruthas.—"As often as we approach and receive

the Sacrament of the Lord's Table, Life, but that which was said, 'I am the Bread of Life, and except ye eat of me, ye shall have no life in you?'"

* The same Father defines the signification of a Mystery to be, "when we see one thing but believe it to be another."—ετερα οραμεν, ετερα πιστευομεν.

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on our hands the body and blood, we believe that we embrace his body, and become, as it is written, flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones. *For Christ did not call it the figure or species of his body, but he said, 'this truly is my body and this is my blood.'* "—Com. in Mat.

In addition to the decisive testimony of all the Fathers on this subject, there is yet another body of evidence, still more ancient and precious, to be found in those Liturgies of the early Churches, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Syriac, &c. which, like the Apostles' Creed, and for similar reasons, were handed down unwritten,* and preserved, in the memories of the Faithful, from age to age. It was not till Christianity had found a refuge under the roofs of Kings that these depositories of her sacred rites, prayers and dogmas, were published to the world; and, whatever interpolations they may have, some of them, suffered in their progress, it is not doubted, among the learned, that, in those parts where they are found all to agree, they may be depended upon as authentic monuments of the apostolic times.† Their entire agreement, therefore, in the sense of those prayers which were used in consecrating the elements of the Eucharist,‡ is a proof more remarkable, perhaps, than any other that has been adduced, of the apostolical date of the Catholic doctrine on that subject. An extract or two from some of the most ancient of these Liturgies shall conclude this long Chapter.

Liturgy of Jerusalem (called also, the *Liturgy of St.*

* The Apostles' Creed is supposed to have been one of the Signs of the Secret, by which the Initiated, or baptized, knew each other, and to have thence derived the designation of *Symbol.*—See *Hist. of Apostles' Creed.*

† It can hardly be doubted (says Archbishop Wake) "but that those prayers in which the Liturgies all agree, in sense at least, if not in words, were first prescribed, in the same or like terms, by those Apostles and Evangelists" whose names they bear.—*Apostolic Fathers.*

‡ "I add to what has been already observed the consent of all the Christian Churches in the world, however distant from each other, in the holy Eucharist, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; which consent is indeed wonderful. All the ancient Liturgies agree in this form of prayer, almost in the same words, but fully and exactly in the same sense, order and method; which whoever attentively considers must be convinced that this order of prayer was delivered to the several churches in the very first plantation and settlement of them."—*Bishop Bull, Sermons on Common Prayer.*

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James.)—"Have mercy on us, O God! the Father Almighty, and send thy Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, equal in dominion to thee and to thy Son—who descended in the likeness of a dove on our Lord Jesus Christ—who descended on the holy Apostles in the likeness of tongues of fire—*that coming he may make this bread the life-giving body*, the saving body, the heavenly body, the body giving health to souls and bodies, the body of our Lord, God and Saviour, Jesus, for the remission of sins and eternal life to those who receive it.—Amen. . . . . Wherefore we offer to thee, O Lord, *this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice* for thy holy places which thou hast enlightened by the manifestation of Christ, thy Son," &c. &c.

Liturgy of Alexandria (called also, the *Liturgy of St. Mark.*)—"Send down upon us, and upon this bread, and this chalice, thy Holy Spirit, that he may sanctify and consecrate them, as God Almighty, and *make the bread indeed the body and the chalice the blood* of the New Testament of* the very Lord, and God, and Saviour, and our sovereign King, Jesus Christ," &c. &c.

Roman Liturgy (called also, the *Liturgy of St. Peter.*)—"We beseech thee, O God, to cause that this oblation may be, in all things, blessed, admitted, ratified, reasonable and acceptable; that *it may become for us the body and blood of thy beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.*" At the Communion, bowing down in sentiments of profound *adoration* and humility, and addressing himself to Jesus Christ then present in his hand, he says thrice, "Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my roof; but say only the word and my soul shall be healed."

Liturgy of Constantinople.—"Bless, O Lord, the holy bread—*make, indeed, this bread the precious body of thy Christ.* Bless, O Lord, the holy chalice; and what is in this chalice, the precious blood of thy Christ—*changing by the Holy Spirit.*" . . . . . Then, dividing the holy

* "I find," says the Protestant Grotius, "in *all the Liturgies*, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Syriac and others, prayers to God that he would consecrate, by his Holy Spirit, the gifts offered, and *make them the body and blood* of his Son. I was right, therefore, in saying that a custom so ancient and universal that it must be considered to have come down from the primitive times, ought not to have been changed."—*Votum pro Pace.*

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bread into four parts, the Priest says, "The Lamb of God is broken and divided,—the Son of the Father, he is broken, but not diminished; he is always eaten, but is not consumed; but he sanctifies those who are made partakers."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Visit to T——d Street Chapel.—Antiquity of the observances of the Mass.—Lights, Incense, Holy Water, &c.—Craw-thumpers.—St. Augustin a Craw-thumper.—Imitations of Paganism in the early Church.

It was, I recollect, late on a Saturday night, when my task of selecting the extracts given in the preceding chapter was completed; and so strong, I confess, was the yearning with which I found myself drawn back to old Mother Church by so many irresistible proofs of her pure Christian descent, that, on the following morning, for the first time since I had ceased to be a boy, I went to attend the celebration of mass in T——d Street Chapel. It was as a sort of peace-offering to the manes of my venerable old confessor, Father O'——, that I thus chose the chapel to which he had belonged, as the scene of the Prodigal's Return, and,—like those mariners of old who used to hang up their votive tablets in the temple, after escaping from shipwreck,—went to offer up a short prayer on my arrival, safe and sound, from this long and adventurous cruise after that phantom-ship, primitive Protestantism.

But, though returning thus to the mansion of her who had nursed me, *was* I, indeed, "worthy to be called her son?"—Though my reason had been so fully, so abundantly convinced, was that worst source of error, "the blindness of the heart," yet removed? My readers themselves will know but too well how to answer this question, when I confess, that so ashamed did I feel even of the slight hankering after my former faith which this visit to the chapel betrayed, that I took care to place myself where I should be least likely to meet with persons who

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knew me; and even there cowered in my corner so as to be, as much as possible, concealed.

Though it is evident, from all this, that my *feeling* of religion had gained but little by my late course of sacred studies, my stock of *knowledge* on the subject could not be otherwise than considerably increased. Far different, indeed, were the thoughts with which I now witnessed the ceremonies of that altar from those which they had awakened in me in my boyish days. I had then blindly revered all its forms, without knowing what they meant; I was now book-learned in their history and their import, but—where was the feeling? It was, I blush to own, far more with the zeal of an antiquary than of a Catholic, or Christian, that, as I now peeped from my corner, I took pleasure in tracing, through every part of the service, some doctrine or observance of the primitive times, and admiring the watchful fidelity with which Tradition had handed down every little ceremony connected with that dawn of our faith.

In the use of lights and incense,—a practice sneered at by the Protestant, as pagan,—I but read the touching story of the early Church, when her children, hunted by the persecutor, held their religious meetings either at night, or in subterranean places,* whose gloom, of course, rendered the light of tapers† necessary, and where the fumes of the censer, besides being familiar to the people among whom Christianity first sprung, were resorted to as a means of dissipating unwholesome odours. In sprinkling the Holy Water on my forehead, I called to mind the far period,—as early as the beginning of the second century,—when salt began to be mixed with the blessed water, in memory of Christ's death;‡ or, as others will have it, as a mystic type of the hypostatic union of the two natures in the Redeemer.

* Ciampini, in his curious work on the remains of ancient buildings and Mosaics, denies that the primitive Christians performed their worship in crypts, and asserts that their meetings were held in houses built over or near the cemeteries. This laborious antiquary numbers up a list of no less than eighty churches built by the Christians from the year 33 to 275.

† Thus we are told, in some notes on Eusebius (*De Die Dominico*, "Quod Christiani mane quondam congregati, Synaxes suas ad lumina accensa celebrarint, quæ deinceps, etiam interdiu retenta sunt."

‡ According to Tertullian, the sprinkling of the Holy Water was "in memoriam dedicationis Christi."

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At that period of the Mass when the mysterious Sacrifice begins, I found myself reminded of the forms of words, "Foris Catechumeni," in which invariably, as long as the Discipline of the Secret continued to be observed, the Catechumens, or unbaptized, were dismissed from Church, before those Mysteries, which none but the initiated were allowed to witness, commenced. By the words, "Per quem hæc omnia Domine,"* my thoughts were recalled to the simplicity of the first ages, when the young fruits of the season used to be laid on the altar, and receive, in these words, the blessing of the Priest, before the Communion. Again, when I heard the Priest say, "Lift up your hearts," and the people respond to him, "We have lifted them up to the Lord," could I help remembering with reverence that in the very same phrases did St. Cyprian and his flock commune before their God,† no less than fifteen hundred years since,—that is, twelve whole centuries before any of those Protestants, by whom the Mass was abolished, existed!

But there occurred to me yet another proof of the high antiquity of the religious observances of the Catholics, which struck me the more forcibly inasmuch as it related to one of their most ridiculed practices, that of beating the breast with the clenched hand, at the Confiteor, and other parts of the service;—a practice, which, in Ireland, has drawn down on the Papists the well-bred appellation of *craw-thumpers*. When I looked round, however, upon the humble Christians, thus nick-named, and remembered that St. Augustin himself, the pious and learned St. Augustin, was also a *craw-thumper*, I felt that to err with him, was, at least, erring in good company, and proceeded to join the "tundentes pectora" (as the Saint describes them,‡) with all my might.

The charge brought against the Catholics of being copyists of the Pagans is one regularly renewed by every tour-writing parson who returns, horror-struck with

* By Calvin, Basnage, &c. an attempt has been made to turn this formula of the Ancient Mass into an argument against the doctrine of the Real Presence,—but the explanation given above is a sufficient answer to their cavils.

† *De Orat. Domin.*—St. Cyril of Jerusalem also makes mention of this formula, *Catech. Myst.* 5.

‡ "Si non habemus peccata, et tundentes pectora, dicimus 'Dimitte nobis peccata nostra,' &c. &c."—*Serm.* 35.

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images, &c. from Rome and Naples. So far from denying, however, their adoption of some Pagan customs, the early Christians would have avowed and justified such a policy, as calculated to soften down that appearance of novelty in their faith which formed one of the most startling obstacles to its reception with the Heathen, and thus to enable them, by borrowing some of the forms of error, to win over their hearers to the substance of truth.*

The numerous vestiges, indeed, of Paganism, which partly from this policy, partly from the force of habit and imitation, were still retained in the ritual, language, and ceremonies of the early Church, would take far more space than my present limits can afford to enumerate them. Not to dwell on such instances as the adoption of the words "Mystery" and "Sacrament†" from the religious language of the Romans and Greeks,—the form of dismissal addressed to the Catechumens, at the commencement of the Sacrifice, "Depart, ye who are not initiated," in which we recognise the "Procul este, profani," of the Pagan mysteries,—the confession of sins, and abstinence from particular foods required by both religions of the candidates for initiation,‡ and the different stages or ranks through which they were, in each, gradually promoted,§—the special selection by the Christians of those days, for the Festivals of their Church, which had been before dedicated to some superstitious solemnity by the Pagans,‖—not to dwell upon these and many other

* The advantage of such a mode of proceeding is put acutely in the following words of Bede:—"Pertinaci Paganismo mutatione subventum est, quum rei in totum sublatio potiùs irritâsset."

† By Doctor Waterland the application of the word "Sacrament" to the Eucharist is traced to so early a date as that of the letter of Pliny respecting the Christians, in which he says, "Seque Sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, &c." But it is evident that Pliny here employs the word, in the Roman sense, as meaning an Oath; nor is there, I believe, any recorded instance of its application to the Eucharist before the time of Tertullian.

‡ After confessing their sins, the Heathen candidates were asked, "Have you eaten of the lawful food, and abstained from the unlawful?"—το αιτου και το μη αιτου δε εγευσω.

§ The last and highest stage of initiation was by the Heathen Mystagogues called Teletes, or the Consummation; and in the same manner, the admission of the Christian neophyte to communion is styled frequently by the Fathers ελθειν επι το τελειον.

‖ "Our Lord God," says Theodoret, "hath brought his dead (viz. the Martyrs) into the room and place of your gods, whom he hath sent

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such striking points of resemblance, we can trace, even in the Liturgic service of the early Church, both the forms and language of the Pagan worship.

Thus that species of Psalmody, called Antiphony, first introduced into the Church by St. Ignatius, wherein the anthem was sung alternately by two choirs, was the mode of singing, according to Casaubon, that had been practised in the temples of the Gentiles; and the responses of the people to the Priests found a precedent in some of the ancient Bacchic rites:—"Praise God," said the Daduchus, or High Priest, and the people answered, "Oh, son of Semele, bestower of wealth." The very words, indeed *Kyrie Eleison*, "Lord, have mercy on us," which have kept their place in all Litanies to the present day, were, as appears from Arrian, (who wrote in the second century,) the ordinary form of prayer to the Deity among the Pagans. "We pray to God (says Arrian, himself a Pagan) in the words *Kyrie Eleison*."*

So far from denying, I repeat it, the source from which these forms have been derived, the Catholics are themselves among the first to avow it;† well knowing, however, the Protestant may wish to blink such a conclusion, that these occasional resemblances to the forms of Paganism, in the ceremonies of their Church, form one of the countless proofs she can give of the high antiquity of her descent,—even the outward formulary of her devotions being thus traceable to that bright dawn of Christianity, when truth gained upon error gradually, like light upon darkness; and when, if any such lingering mists remained from the night, they were but to be made subservient to the glory of the day.

about their business, and hath given their honour to his Martyrs. For, instead of the feasts of Jupiter and Bacchus are now celebrated the festivals of Peter and Paul," &c.

* Τον Θεον επικαλουμενοι δεομεθα αυτου, Κυριε ελεησον.—*Dissertat. Epictet.*

† The learned Brisson (one of the victims of the League) says expressly of the words Kyrie Eleison, in his work on the Forms of the Catholic Church, "Fontem hujus precationis esse à Paganorum consuetudine."

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CHAPTER XIX.

Ruminations.—Unity of the Catholic Church.—History of St. Peter's Chair.—Means of preserving Unity.—Irenæus.—Hilary.—Indefectibility of the one Church.

SURELY, thought I, as, ruminating, I sauntered homewards from the chapel,—were there even no other evidence in favour of the authenticity of her claims, this adherence, on the part of the Catholic Church, through all changes of time and circumstance, to every, even the minutest point of discipline or worship on which the seal of her primitive teachers was set, would be, of itself, a sufficient assurance, without any farther testimony, that she had kept equally scrupulous watch over the great doctrines bequeathed to her, and handed them down, even unto our own times, as they were "delivered by the Saints."

Though nothing less, of course, than the superintendence of a Divine Providence can be held sufficient to account for this great standing miracle of a church upholding itself through the lapse of eighteen centuries, unchanged and, as it would appear, unchangeable,—it may yet be permitted to inquire how far, as a subordinate instrument, human policy may have had its share in producing this result; and there can be no doubt that the zealous watchfulness with which the pastors of the Catholic Church have ever acted upon, themselves, and prescribed urgently to their flocks the precept of St. Paul, "Be ye of one mind," has been, of all the human means employed to keep the strong fabric of their Faith unbroken, the most sagacious and powerful.

What importance they attached to Unity, and how great was their horror of schism, appears from the earnest language of all the Fathers on the subject. "Unity cannot be severed," says St. Cyprian, "nor the one body by laceration be divided. Whatever is separated from the stock, cannot live, cannot breathe apart: it loses the

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substance of life."—*De Unitat. Eccles.* "The ancient Catholic Church alone (says St. Clement of Alexandria) is one in essence, in opinion, in origin, and in excellence, one in faith."—*Strom. l.* 7. In a still more Popish spirit, St. Optatus (a bishop of Milevis in the fourth century) thus writes:—"You cannot deny that St. Peter, *the chief of the Apostles*, established an Episcopal Chair at Rome. *This chair was one, that all might preserve Unity by the union which they had with it: so that, whoever set up a chair against it should be a schismatic and an offender.*"—De Schism. Donat.

The history, indeed, of this "one chair" presents, in itself, such a phenomenon and marvel as no other form of human power, in any age of the world, has paralleled. Through a course of eighteen centuries, amidst the constant flux and reflux of the destinies of nations, while every other part of Europe has seen its institutions, time after time, broken up and reconstructed, while new races of kings have, like pageants, come and disappeared, and England herself has passed successively under the sway of five different nations, the Apostolic See, the Chair of St. Peter, has alone defied the vicissitudes of time,—has remained, as "a city seated on a mountain," a rallying point for the church of God throughout all time, and counting an unbroken succession of Pontiffs* from its first occupant, St. Peter, down to the present hour.

To return, however, to the more directly human means by which the stability of the Catholic Church has been thus wonderfully preserved,—we have seen that to the maintenance of entire and changeless unity among her children, all the energies of her most enlightened pastors have, in all times, been directed; and such a system of union being, in fact, indispensable both to the peace and durability of their Church, it is of importance to inquire by what means they so well succeeded in effecting it. Was it by throwing open the Scriptures to the multitude? Was it by leaving, like modern Reformers, the right of judgment unfettered, and allowing every man to interpret the Sacred Volume as he fancied? Far from

* In speaking of the first links of this chain,—from St. Peter down to Eleutherius, the 12th Bishop of Rome,—Irenæus says, "In this very order and succession has the *Tradition which is in the Church*, and the preaching of the truth, *come to us from the Apostles.*"

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it;—they were as little Protestant on this point as on all others. They asked, with St. Paul, "Are all Prophets? are all Teachers?" They knew, with St. Peter, that there are, in the Scriptures, "things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest to their own destruction." They saw the consequences of the first steps of dissent in the random course of all the heretics of their day; and the language employed by them in speaking of these vagrant sectaries was but an anticipation of what the Catholics of after times have had to apply to Protestants. Thus, St. Irenæus, who lived, if I may so say, in the very sunset of the apostolical age, and had its light fresh around him, after remarking the uncountable varieties of doctrine into which heresy had even then branched, adds:—"When, therefore, they shall be agreed among themselves on what they draw from the Scriptures, it will be our time to refute them. Meanwhile, thinking wrongfully, and not agreeing in the meaning of the same words, they convict themselves. But we, having one true and only God for our master, and making his words the rule of truth, always speak alike of the same things."—*Adv. Hær. l.* 4.*

Two centuries later we find the great Trinitarian, St. Hilary, describing the Arian creed-mongers of his own time in terms no less appropriately applicable to the Luthers, Zwingles, and Calvins of the Reformation, and to all those *succession* crops of creeds that sprung up so rankly under their culture. "When once they (the Arians) began to make new confessions of faith, belief became the creed of the times rather than of the gospels. Every year new creeds were made, and men did not keep to that simplicity of faith which they professed at their baptism. And then, what miseries ensued! for soon there were as many creeds as might please each party; and nothing else has been minded, since the council of

* In the same spirit is another remarkable passage of the same Father:—"Paul said, 'We speak wisdom among the Perfect, but not the wisdom of this world.' Every one of these men (the heretics) affirms that this wisdom is in himself; that he findeth it of himself,—namely, the fiction which he hath invented. So that, according to them, the truth is said to be sometimes in Valentinus, sometimes in Marcion, sometimes in Cerinthus, and, after that, in Basilides. *When again we appeal to that tradition*, which is delivered from the Apostles, and *which is preserved in the Church by a succession of Elders*, they then turn against tradition."

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Nice, but this creed-making.—New creeds have come forth every year, and every month: they have been changed, have been anathematized, and then re-established; *and thus, by too much inquiry into the faith, there is no faith left.* Recollect, too, that *there is not one of these heretics who does not impudently assert that all his blasphemies are derived from the Scriptures.*"—Ad Constant. lib. 2.

Having, from the earliest times of the Faith, such examples to warn them, and adhering firmly to the principle of *oneness* enjoined by Christ himself, the heads of the Church continued invariably to act upon the system of requiring all within the fold to follow the one Shepherd; and if any resisted, or dissented, cast them forth from the flock. To this exclusion, no less awful a penalty was attached than the forfeiture of eternal salvation;* and, however stern and tremendous such a decree must appear, they who had been taught that there was but "one Lord, one faith, and one baptism," and who held, therefore, that he who was not in the ark must perish by the deluge, could not, with any sincerity, pronounce a more lenient sentence.

Under the shelter of such guards and sanctions, human as well as divine, has the Catholic Church been enabled to hold on her changeless course, and exhibit an example of permanence, indefectibility, and unity, to which the whole history of human systems afford no parallel; sustaining herself, unblenched and unbroken—with the single exception of the partial schism of the Eastern Church—through a period commensurate with the existence of Christianity itself, and, amidst all the changes, eclipses, and wrecks of all other institutions, delivering down the same doctrines from father to son, through every age; while of all the leaders of sects opposed to her, from Simon Magus down to Luther, *not a single one has been able to frame a creed for his followers, the articles of which have remained unaltered beyond his own life-time.*

* The Synodal epistle of the Council of Zerta, drawn up by St. Augustin, thus tells the Donatists:—"Whoever is separated from this Catholic Church, however innocently he may think he lives, for this crime alone, that he is separated from the Unity of Christ, will not have life, but the anger of God remains upon him."

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CHAPTER XX.

A Dream.—Scene, a Catholic Church—Time, the third Century.—Angel of Hermas.—High Mass.—Scene shifts to Ballymudragget.—Rector's Sermon.—Amen Chorus.

THIS train of thought into which I had been led by the ceremonies of the morning, and which continued, more or less, to occupy me during the remainder of the day, was doubtless the cause of a strange dream by which I was visited that night, and which, for the benefit of all those who have any fancy for such "children of the idle brain," I shall here relate.

I found myself seated, as I thought, in the middle of a great church, in some foreign land, and, according to the impression I had on my mind, in the third or fourth century. From the lights, the incense, and the sounds of psalmody that arose around, I could not doubt that I stood in some temple of Catholic worship, and, by a still greater miracle of fancy, was reconverted into a good, orthodox Catholic myself. On looking round, however, through the crowd of fellow-believers that encircled me, I was filled with astonishment at the varieties of hue and habit which they exhibited;—the Roman, the Carthaginian, the Gaul, the citizens of Athens and of Jerusalem, of Corinth and of Ephesus, the Alexandrian and the Spaniard, all seated round, arrayed in the different garbs of their respective countries, and waiting, in solemn silence, the opening of the Mass.

I now, for the first time, perceived, by my side, a youth of divine aspect, who regarded me with a smile of benevolence that came, like sunshine, into my heart. He was habited in the manner of a shepherd of the old pastoral times, and on considering his features more closely, I recognised in him the same friendly Angel who, in the garb of a Shepherd, had led Hermas through *his* series of Visions.* An exchange of salutations having passed be-

* See page 22 of this volume.

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tween us, I was about to inquire after his old pupil's celestial health, when he pressed his fore-finger on his lip, as a warning of silence, and, almost at the same moment, the first words of the service broke on our ears. The venerable Priest who officiated seemed to my fancy a sort of compound being, made up from the descriptions I had read of some of the celebrated Fathers of the Church,—having the bald, Elisha-like head of St. Chrysostom, the upright eyebrows of St. Cyril, and "the beard prolix" (as Dr. Cave terms it) of the great St. Basil. Sometimes, too, as my dream shifted, like a morning mist, it appeared to me as if the holy personage ministering at the altar was no other than my good old confessor, Father O'H—— himself.

The public part of the mass being now ended, the moment had arrived when, by the solemn form of words, "Depart in peace," those who had not yet been initiated, by baptism were warned to retire, and the Faithful left to perform the dread Sacrifice among themselves. But who shall worthily describe that rite which followed? Never shall I forget the effect, as it then presented itself to my fancy, of the still and unbreathing silence* of that vast multitude of Christians,—till, at the awful moment of communion, when, as the Priest, raising the sacred Host, pronounced it "the Body of Christ," the whole assembly fell prostrate, in adoration, before it, and the word "Amen,"† as if with one voice and one soul, burst from all around. It was like a sweet and long-drawn peal of music, a concert of sounds, unbroken by a single breath of dissonance, from every quarter of this earth which the wind visits,—all blending in the belief of an incarnate God, who by his flesh, hath redeemed, and with his flesh still feeds, his creatures.

So overpowering was the effect of this sound upon me,

* When the Priest, says St. Chrysostom, stands before the Table, stretching out his hands to heaven, invocating the Holy Spirit, that he would come and give the contact, all is stillness and silence—πολλη ησυχια, πολλη σιγη.

† "In the very form of communion, the whole primitive Church made a solemn and public profession of the *truth* of the body of Christ in this Sacrament. The Priest, in giving it, spake these words, *Corpus Christi*, that is, *the body of Christ*, and the communicant answered *Amen*, that is, *it is true*."—Rutter on the Eucharist.

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that I had nearly waked with emotion;—but the interruption was only momentary. Though the web of my dream had been broken, the thread was not altogether lost; and, after a short interval of entanglement, I found myself again in company with the Angel-Shepherd, in the very act of proposing to him, that in return for his condescension in thus procuring me a peep into a church of the third century, he would allow me the honour of treating him to a similar glimpse into one of our new-fashioned churches, or conventicles, of the nineteenth.

Scarcely had the words passed my lips, when, by a sudden shift of scene, we were at once, transported away to the Parish Church of Ballymudragget, and arrived just as the rich and roseate Rector of that place was ascending the pulpit, to read over to his half-a-sleep flock the last ready made sermon he had purchased. The church appeared to me to have been, in some marvellous manner, enlarged for the occasion, and was now thronged with a dense multitude of persons whom, by that intuitive knowledge given only to dreamers, I knew to consist of all the various sects and denominations into which —with a vitality as infinitely divisible as that of the polypus itself—English Protestantism has been subdivided; and as, in the first stage of my dream, we had witnessed the spectacle of a variety of nations with one religion, so we now had before us the Reformed fashion of one nation with a variety of religions;—there being collected there (to mention but a few of the diversities of faith that presented themselves) Calvinists, Arminians, Antinomians, Independents, Baptists, Particular Baptists, Methodists, Kilhamites, Glassites, Haldanites, Bereans, Swedenborgians, Quakers, Shakers, Ranters, and Jumpers.

It was said of the great St. Ambrose that he had a peculiar talent for smelling out dead martyrs;* and no less quick a scent did my friend, the Angel, appear to have for live heretics. For, perceiving instantly the difference between these moderns and the old, regular Christians he had been accustomed to, he begged, in a whisper, that I would explain briefly to him the particular form of he-

* "Idem Præsul (says Daillé, gibingly, in speaking of the great Bishop of Milan's discovery of the two buried Saints, Gervasius and Protasius) quo nemo fuit in odorandis ac cernendis sub terra quantumvis altâ Reliquiis sagacior et acutior."

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resy to which they belonged. The task was puzzling: —just as reasonably, indeed, might he have inquired of me the particular form and colour of the motes in a sunbeam. Not liking, however, to appear uncommunicative, I at once invented a generic name for the whole assembly, and told him the people he saw around us were Suists,*—so called, from following each his own way in religion, and only taking care in forming his peculiar creed, that it should as little as possible resemble the creed of his neighbour.

Unluckily for this definition of mine, the discourse of the Reverend Rector happened to turn upon the one, only point on which his auditors were entirely unanimous, —namely, contempt and detestation for the ancient Catholic Church, its doctrines, observances, traditions, and teachers. To describe the astonishment of the Angel at the specimen of Ballymudragget Christianity now presented to him would be a task beyond my powers. When he heard the solemn words of our Lord in instituting the Eucharist, "Hoc est corpus," &c., profanely travestied into "*Hocus Pocus*;"† when he was told gravely by the preacher that to maintain the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament is as absurd as to declare "an egg to be an elephant, or a musket-ball a pike,"‡—I saw his celestial brow darken, at once, with sorrow and disdain, and he was only roused from the thoughtfulness into which such blasphemies plunged him on hearing the preacher mention Luther as the Apostle of this new Gospel he was expounding to them.§ "Luther," muttered the Spirit to himself; and then, turning quick round to me, exclaimed, "Luther!—who is he?"

Somewhat startled to find the illustrious author of Protestantism so entirely unknown to my angelic friend, I

* "No common name being to be found, fit to comprehend our sectaries, but that of a Suist, one that follows his own dreams or fancy in choice of Scripture, and interpretation of it."—*Dr. Carier's Motives for Conversion to the Catholic Religion*, 1649.

† It is no less a person than Tillotson, who, in one of his writings, has descended to this ribaldry.

‡ "It might well seem strange if any man should write a book to prove than an egg is not an elephant and that a musket-ball is not a pike."—*Tillotson on Transubstantiation.*

§ The Reverend Preacher, however, had done injustice to Luther, who, as far as a belief in the Real Presence went (and without considering the *modus*,) was perfectly orthodox.

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proceeded to inform him of the few particulars I myself, at that time, knew of the great Reformer;—viz., that he was a monk of the order of St. Augustin who, about the year 1520, undertook to bring back the primitive purity of the Gospel;—that one of his first steps towards this object was to renounce his vows of chastity and marry a run-away nun whose views of reform, it appeared, coincided with his own;—that, still in fartherance of the same pious design, he struck up, as he himself informs us, an intimacy with the Devil; by whose friendly advice he pronounced the ancient Sacrifice of the Mass to be a nuisance, and abolished it accordingly;* that——I was thus, to the infinite wonder and horror of my companion, proceeding, when we both perceived that the portly Preacher had concluded his discourse; and all farther communication between us was put an end to by the scene that followed.

Immediately on the conclusion of the Reverend gentleman's sermon, an Amen Chorus,—got up, it would appear, in direct opposition to the symphonious strain we had heard some fifteen centuries before,—broke forth from the whole motley mass of Protestantism around us. Heavens, what a crash!—Not that celebrated pig-instrument, invented for the special amusement of Louis XV., could, with all its scale of grunts and squeaks multiplied a million-fold,† come, in the least degree, into compari-

* See Luther's own account of this famous conference, which he evidently believed himself to have held, with the Devil, on the subject of Private Masses, and the result of which was as above stated.—*De abrog. Miss. priv.* Had we not the recital of this strange illusion from the Reformer himself, who describes all particulars of the Devil's tone of voice, his off-hand manner of arguing, &c., such an instance of mental drivelling in so great a leader of human opinion would have been altogether inconceivable. He tells us, too, that his scenes of this kind, with the Devil, were frequent.—"Multas noctes mihi satis amarulentas et ecerbas reddere ille novit."

† A sort of instrument, played with keys like a harpsichord, or organ, invented. it is said, by some Abbé, for the amusement of Louis XV., in which pigs of different ages and tones. from the youngest to the oldest, were placed so as to form the treble and base of the scale. According as the performer played, a spike at the end of each key produced the tones desired, while a muzzle was so contrived as to act the part of Damper, and stop the mouth of each pig as soon as his note was uttered. The whole was then covered in, so as to appear like an instrument, and the Abbé, it is stated, performed upon it, in the presence of the Court.

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son with the varieties of discord in which this general and prolonged Amen was uttered forth;—the deep, damnatory growl of the Calvinist, and the exclusive shriek of the Particular Baptist (shrill as the screaming of a sea-fowl in the storm) forming the treble and base of this most discordant scale. Every moment, too, some new subdivision of dissonance was added to the original stock; till, at length, to so loud a pitch did the *charivari* swell, that no powers of sleeping, however dogged, could withstand it. In an instant, the whole visionary assemblage was put to flight; and, on awaking, I found myself lying, with one of the controversial volumes of the Rev. G. S. Faber, Rector of Long Newton, resting heavily on my chest. I had been employed in reading the volume when I dropped off to sleep, and its influence and superincumbence more than sufficiently accounted both for the long and deep slumber into which I was thrown, and the sort of Protestant nightmare under which I had awaked.

CHAPTER XXI.

Search after Protestantism suspended.—Despair of finding it among the Orthodox.—Resolve to try the Heretics.—Dead Sea of Learning.—Balance of Agreeableness between Fathers and Heretics.

I HAD, by this time, as my readers will easily believe, got not a little sick and weary of my search after Protestantism; a search hopeless, I found, as that of the Bramin, in the Eastern Tale, whose wife sent him all over the world, on a fool's errand, to look for the Fifth Volume of the Hindoo Scriptures,*—there never having been but *Four*. Tired of my learned studies and mortified to think how much time I had lost with them, I, for some weeks, gave up sullenly all thoughts of conversion, and was fast relapsing into what the Abbé la Mennais calls *Indifferentism*, on the subject. It happened

* The *Tirrea Beda*, or Fifth Veda.—See, for this lively story, (a part of which closely resembles Chaucer's January and May) the collection called the *Bahardanush*.

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just then, however, that some circumstances connected intimately with that domestic secret to which I have so frequently alluded, but which must a little longer remain veiled in mystery, occurred to rouse me out of the listless apathy into which I had sunk, and make me feel that,—no matter what my scruples or convictions,—I must take to Protestantism, of *some* description or other, immediately.

The thought of finding, among the orthodox of the early Church, any creed but that of Popery was now, of course, out of the question. I had still, however, a fond hankering after those primitive ages, and knowing what power there is in antiquity to lend a grace to error, thought that if, even among the heretics of that venerable period, I could discover a little of the primæval Protestantism I had been looking for, it would be, at all events, no upstart heresy of a few centuries, but would, at least, have that degree of hoary heterodoxy about it which, if my conscience *must* give way, would throw dignity round its fall. Nor had I much fears of being disappointed in this object of my now crest-fallen ambition; for thus did I argue:—if the Catholic Church (as has been but too clearly demonstrated) held, in those early ages, the very same doctrines which she holds at present, those who, at that period, dissented from, or protested against, her doctrines must have been, in so far, Protestants; and though it does not always follow that two parties who differ with a third will agree with each other, yet was it natural to hope that among the grounds on which the Anti-Catholics of that time bottomed their heresies might be found some of those which have since furnished the basis of Protestantism. This glimpse of hope again awakened all my inquisitive energies; and, like a return of lost scent to the beagle, sent me once more, in full cry, after my game.

I have already remarked that the persevering Unity of Faith, which the Catholic Church has, through all ages, in pursuance of the Divine injunctions, maintained, could by no other device of human policy have been preserved than that which the See of Rome, as visible Head of the Christian world, has ever adopted,—namely, the repression of all private interpretation of Scripture, and the assertion to herself of the right of being at all times, and

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on all points of faith, the guide to truth, the expounder of Scripture, and the judge of controversy. "Truly," says Gregory of Nazianzum, in speaking of the mischiefs that arose from the exercise of private judgment,—"there should have been a law among us, whereby (as, among the Jews, young men were not allowed to read certain books of Scripture) not all men, and at all times, but certain persons only, and on certain occasions, should be permitted to discuss the points of Faith."—*Orat.* xxvi. St. Jerome, too, in a passage whose just sarcasm will be found to fit some of the Bible-expounders of the present day as closely as if they had been measured for it, thus speaks:—"In all menial arts there must be some one to show the way:—the art of understanding the Scriptures alone is open to every reader! Here, learned or unlearned, we can all interpret. The tattling old woman, the doting old man, the wordy sophist, all, all here presume; they tear texts asunder, and dare to become teachers before they have learned."—*Ep.* L. T. iv. *Pars.* 11.

To look for Protestantism—whose very corner-stone is the right of private judgment,—in a Church whose system it has been, from the first, to acknowledge no such right, was, I now perceived, a gross mistake,—a mistake into which nothing but my entire ignorance of the Rule of Faith prescribed to the Primitive Christians could have led me. For, after all, in this point,—in the latitude given to private interpretation,—lies the broad and essential distinction between the Catholic Church and her opponents, under whatever forms or at whatever periods such opponents may have appeared. The test, indeed, is as true and as applicable to the respective parties in the first century as in the nineteenth; and in whatever age, however early we find professed Christians, questioning or rejecting the authority of the Church, and grounding their opposition to her rites or doctrines upon the Scriptures, as interpreted by themselves, we may be assured that *there* is already at work the spirit of Protestantism.

Having come to this conclusion, I now, once more, betook myself to my folios,—once more plunged into that Dead Sea of Learning which is so little suited to a diver of light bulk, like myself,* and over which never hath the

* In explanation of these metaphors of my young friend, I may as

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wing of Fancy been known to fly without drooping. It is true, my present course of study lay through a far more varied line of road than that by which I had before travelled. In my researches hitherto, I had kept chiefly to what the Fathers call "the Royal Road of Orthodoxy;" —whereas I was now about to track Heresy through her by-lanes and cross-ways; to beat up, as it were, the haunts of Heterodoxy, and ascertain to what extent Protantism had burrowed among her coverts. As far as amusement goes, my readers will be, I should hope, gainers by this change of route. Good company, says a French *roue*, is a good thing, but bad is better; and just so did I find the balance of agreeableness between my Fathers and my Heretics,—the respectability being all, of course, on the former side, while the amusement is on the latter; there being, in fact, no conceivable freak or vagary of opinion into which at the early periods of the Church I am about to speak of, that will-o'-th'-wisp, Private Judgment, did not lure his weak followers.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Capharnaites the first Protestants.—Discourse of our Saviour at Capernaum—its true import.—Confirmatory of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist.

It is melancholy to think how soon Heresy intruded itself into the Christian fold; and how, in the same manner as the blessed abode of our first Parents was scarcely called into existence before the Spirit of Evil contrived to enter and to darken it with his doubts, so Christianity had hardly opened her second Eden to mankind, before the same Evil intruder, with the same tongue of reasoning and heart of guile, came to question her mysteries and throw a blight over her blessings.

well state, that the difficulty of diving in the Dead Sea was noticed as far back as Strabo's time; and that the effect of its exhalations on birds that fly over it is a common but, I believe, unfounded notion.

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One of the first instances, and by far the most signal, that occur in the History of Christianity, of this sort of questioning spirit, this rising up of the judgment against Faith, to which all the Herecies and Schisms that have occurred since owe their rise, is to be found in the memorable speech of the Jews of Capernaum, when our Saviour first announced the great mystery of the Eucharist:—"How can this man give us his flesh to eat?"

We have here, I repeat, one of the first recorded protests of Private Judgment against the mysteries of the Church of Christ. It is, therefore, of importance to examine a little into the details of the great transaction it refers to; and we shall find, I think, that could the various texts of Scripture, levelled against "the wisdom of this world," have left us any room to doubt of the infinitely low estimate at which human reason and its conclusions are rated in the eyes of heaven, the little deference paid by Christ, on this occasion, to the reasoning powers of his auditors would be, in itself, a sufficient evidence of the humbling truth; would, of itself, sufficiently teach the presumptuous Spirit of Private Judgment how sacredly the precincts of Faith are meant to be guarded from its intrusions.

Our Saviour had told them, "the bread which I will give you is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." Had the hearers of these words understood them to have been used metaphorically by the speaker, neither wonder nor scandal could possibly have resulted from them. But it is evident the whole assembly understood his language literally, and while the Apostles were silent and, with implicit faith, "believed on him that God had sent," the Jews and many even of his own disciples murmured at such hard doctrine. We can even imagine, at that juncture, some Capharnaite divine, some Tillotson of the Synagogue, thus addressing his flock:—"Surely, my beloved brethren, it can never enter into any of our minds that this man will literally hold himself in his hand, and give away himself, from himself, with his own hands."* With far more grounds and decency,

* See Tillotson, on Transubstantiation, whose words are here repeated verbatim. It is not a little curious that the representation which Tillotson gives of this miracle, for the purpose of throwing ridicule on it, is the same that the Fathers did not hesitate to put for-

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indeed, might the Capharnaites have urged such an objection, seeing that they interpreted the promised eating of the Lord's body in a carnal sense; even so much so (says St. Augustin) as to suppose that he meant to cut up his own flesh in bits and distribute it among believers.*

The Redeemer saw what was passing in their minds, as well as in those of his disciples,†—who, however less gross and carnal might have been their notion of the mystery, not the less murmured at its incomprehensibility, and, in consequence, meditated that secession from their Master, of which they were afterwards guilty.‡

ward as an enhancement and proof of its stupendous nature. Thus St. Augustin, in a passage already cited,—"When, committing to us his body, he said, This is my body, *Christ was held in his own hands.*" "Our Lord *gave his body* (says St. James of Nisibis,) *with his own hands*, for food."

* "Many who were present, not understanding this, were scandalized; for, hearing him, they thought of nothing but their own flesh. He therefore said, 'the flesh profiteth nothing;' that is, it profiteth nothing, as they understood it; for they understood it to mean flesh, as it is in a dead body, or as it is sold in the market, not as animated by life."—*August. Tract. 27.*

It is supposed by other divines at these words, "The flesh profiteth nothing, it is the spirit that quickeneth," had reference rather to the agency of the Holy Spirit, by whose descent upon the elements, according to the belief of the early Church, their transformation into the body of Christ was effected, and the vivifying virtue commmunicated to them.

† In remarking upon the exclamation of the Jew—"How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" Cyril of Alexandria says, "They reflected not that *nothing is impossible with God.* But if thou, O Jew, continuest yet to urge this *How*, I will ask *thee how* the rod of Moses was changed into a serpent? *how* the waters were changed into the nature of blood? . . . . . For our parts, let us derive great instruction from the iniquity of others; and cherishing a firm faith on these mysteries, let us never, on so sublime a point, either in words express, or in thoughts entertain, this *How.*" Com. in Joan.

The following declaration, drawn up by St. Cyril and approved by the Third General Council, may be considered as conveying the belief of the Catholic Church on this subject:—We receive it (the Eucharist) not as common flesh: far be this thought from us; nor as the flesh of a sanctified man, and united to the Word by an equality of honour, or as having obtained a divine inhabitation; *but we receive it as the truly vivifying and own flesh of the Word made man.* For as the Word, as God, is essentially life the moment it became one with its flesh, it imparted to this flesh a vivifying virtue. Wherefore, although Christ said—'Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you' (John, vi. 54,) we are not to imagine, that it is the flesh of a man like to ourselves, but *truly the flesh of him* (ιδιαν αληθως γενομενην) who for us was made, and was called the Son of Man."

‡ "From that time many of his disciples went back and walked no more with him."—John, vi. 66.

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Here then was the important moment—important to all eternity,—when, the divine teacher and his disciples being confronted with each other, the question between Reason and Faith, between Private Judgment and Authority, was, for the guidance of future ages, to be brought solemnly to a decision. Here assuredly was the moment when, if Christ had not truly and really meant what he had spoken,—when, if there had been any figure of speech or allegory in his words, on whose correct interpretation no less a stake than the eternal life of mankind depended, he had not only an opportunity, but, if I may venture so to say, was bound by the conditions of his high mission, to explain away any such perilous ambiguity; nor, mysterious as was the nature of the sacrament itself, to leave also the needless mist of metaphor hanging over it. If, in short, to conciliate human reason, by smoothing away difficulties which must, to the end of time, he knew, startle and alienate the "weak in faith," —if any such deference to human doubts and judgments ever entered, but in the remotest degree, into his purposes, then I repeat, would have been the moment for him to evince such deference, and by so doing authorize the jurisdiction of Reason over Faith for ever after.

But *did* our Lord thus act? *did* he indeed, show any such consideration for the judgment of his hearers, or attempt, in the slightest degree, to explain or soften down his own startling announcement? Did he (as has been done *for* him, in modern times,) confess that, on so solemn an occasion he had made use of a most forced and unnatural metaphor, and that, by eating his flesh and drinking his blood, he meant nothing more than believing his doctrine? *Did* "the great Proclaimer" of this miracle endeavour to fritter away its wonders and bring them down to the low level of the faith of his hearers, by averring, in the language of the Sacramentarians, that the bread and wine were but the signs or symbols of his body, or by assuring them, with the Calvinists, that it was by a mere act of faith they were to partake of his flesh, while the body itself would be, at the time, as remote from them as heaven was from the altar? *Did* our Saviour, I ask, do thus? Let the sacred text answer the question. So far from offering such explanations,—any one of which would have sufficiently diluted away the difficulties of the doctrine to

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render it easy and palatable to the stubborn judgment of his auditors,—the Divine Master, as if to show how easily he could "bring to nothing the understandings of the prudent," deigned no otherwise to answer their objections, or their murmurs, than by repeating, in still more emphatic language, the declaration that had so astounded them:—"Verily, Verily,* I say unto you, except ye eat of the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you."

The whole conduct, indeed, and language of our Saviour, throughout this most memorable scene, stands as an eternal rebuke to the presumption of human Reason, in its vain attempt to fathom such "heavenly things;" while the awful announcement then made of the miraculous Feast about to be instituted,† followed up, as it was, on the solemn night of Institution, by those simple and irrefragable words, "This is my Body,"‡ from the grounds of that implicit Catholic belief, which the Church of Christ has, at all times, maintained, and which, however

* It is supposed by some that the word Amen, as repeated here, is a positive oath; and Bamage is, if I recollect right, one of the authorities for its having been employed in that sense by the Jews. However this may be, the word doubtless, imports a very high degree of asseveration; and "to suppose (as Johnson remarks) that our Saviour used it only to justify a very catechrestical expression is to suppose that a wise and humble teacher was so fond of a figure as, for the sake of it, to give occasion to his hearers to desert him."

In the curious Conference represented to have passed between Charles I. and the Marquis of Worcester at Ragland, the latter, in remarking on the opinion of those who suppose Christ to have spoken figuratively on this occasion, says justly, "There would not have been so much difficulty in the *belief* if there had not been more in the *mystery;* there would not have been so much offence taken at a *memorandum*, nor so much stumbling at a *figure*."

† So far were the ancient Christians from supposing that our Saviour instituted so momentous and wonderful a rite without any announcement, any preparation of the minds of his followers for such an event, that they accounted naturally for the calmness with which the Apostles heard the awful words of institution by the previous knowledge of the nature of the Sacrament which Christ had, in his discourse (John vi.,) communicated to them. Thus St. Chryostom:—"He transferred them to another banquet, a banquet most tremendous, saying, 'Take, eat; this is my body.' How was it that they were not seized with terror, when they heard this? Because he had previously discoursed with them at large upon the subject."—*Homil.* lxxxii. *in Matt.*

‡ "Let us not break (said Gaudentius) that *most solid bone*, 'This is my body—this is my blood;' but if any thing remain in it which individuals do not understand, let it be burnt away by the ardent fire of Faith."—*Tractat*, ii. *de Pasch.*

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Capharnaites may still scoff, and loose disciples still murmur, will never as long as the one Catholic Church endures, pass away.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Docetæ, the earliest heretics.—Denial of the Real Presence.—Simon Magus and his Mistress.—Simon a Protestant.—Delight at the discovery.—The Ebonites.—The Elcesaites.

Thus far I had been as fully successful in my new line of search as I could desire,—having found that great and leading principle of Protestantism, the right of private judgment, starting, as it were, into existence almost co-evally with the birth-hour of our faith, and making the first trial of its strength against the living words of our Saviour himself. We have next to consider the workings of the same headstrong principle, as manifested in the various heresies that rose against his Church; and it is not a little remarkable that the very first sect of heretics we meet with, the first instance of dissent from Catholicity on record, should turn on the same trying point that had already called forth the "*How*" of the Kapharnaites,—that point which, as from the first it has been a stone of stumbling to the weak in faith, so will it continue, I have no doubt, to be a test of the true believer in Christ's words to the last. The sect with whom this *Mother* Heresy originated, was that of the Docetæ, already mentioned,—a branch of the Gnostic Christians, nearly as old as Christianity itself, who gave, as their reason for refusing to join in worship with the orthodox, that they *could not acknowledge the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist.**

* It was put by some branches of the Docetæ that the Eucharist was rejected; the greater number of them appear to have celebrated it, but only in the Protestant sense, as a mere type or emblem.—"Professant tous le Doketisme, les Gnostiques qui conservoient la Céne n'enseignerent jamais l'union réelle de l'homme avec la chair ou le sang du Sauveur;

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Thus do errors, like comets, come and go, while Truth, like the sun, remains always stationary. Though the grounds on which these heretics denied the Real Presence were different, of course, from those on which it was rejected by Protestants fifteen hundred years after, yet was the result they arrived at precisely the same;—insomuch, that could one of those Gnostic Christians now reappear upon earth, he would find nothing in the unreal and figurative Presence, maintained, by Church of England divines, that could, in the slightest degree, offend his most anti-corporeal notions, or prevent him from being conscientiously a partaker of their Sacrament.

At last, therefore, I had the pleasure of finding myself in something like good Protestant company; and, knowing that to the heretic, Simon Magus, is attributed the high honour of being the head of the whole family of Gnostic Christians, I proceeded forthwith to inform myself of all such particulars as are known concerning the parent of so worthy a progeny. Undoubtedly, wherever the presumption of human judgment is the theme, this Arch-Heretic has a paramount claim to be remembered, —seeing that he pretended to understand Christianity better than Christ himself. There are, indeed, some curious coincidences between his career and that of the Arch-parent of the Protestant Reformation, to which, though at the risk of appearing illiberal, I cannot help adverting. One of his first steps, for instance, in setting himself up against Christ, was to take a young female companion to be the enlivener of his ministry,—declaring (with a flight beyond Luther) that he himself was the incarnate Power, and his mistress the incarnate Wisdom, of God.* Another point in which it may be said that the

cet acte qu'ils célébraient en présence de leurs catéchuménes et qu'ils rangaient dans la catégorie des choses ex-otériques, *n'etoit pour eux que l'emblème* de leur union mystique avec un être appartenant au Plérome."—*Hist. du Gnosticisme.*

To the Marcionites of the next age, who had also their Eucharist,—though believing, with the Docetæ, that Christ's body was but apparent, it was urged as an argument, both by Irenæus and Tertullian, that in owning the Sacrament of the body and blood, they confuted their own opinion. Will it *still*, after all this, be contended that the ancient Christians did not believe in the *Reality* of the Presence?

* This lady's name was Helena; and, among the various steps of that descending scale of transmigration through which she was represented to have passed, before she sank into the capacity of Simon's concubine, she had had the honour, it was said, of being, in her time,

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two Reformers resembled each other lay in the alliance formed by both with "the *nether* empire;" Simon Magus being well known to have had demons for his familiars,* and the famous conference between Luther and *his* Devil, on the subject of the Mass, being, as is well known, one of the most memorable events of that great Reformer's life.†

Having satisfied myself thus far, as to the *practice* of Simon, I lost no time in inquiring into the nature of his *doctrine*; and it may be imagined with what pleasure, on opening the pages of the historian, Theodoret, I discovered the following passages:—"He (Simon Magus) ordered those who believed in him not to attend to the Prophets, nor to fear the threats of the Law, but to do, as free persons, whatever they wished; *for that they would obtain salvation, not by Good Works, but by Grace.*"‡ Here was, at least, Protestantism, in its fullest perfection,—the very principle, in fact, on which the authors of the Reformation first started, however their followers, and even some of themselves, saw reason to shrink from its consequences afterwards; here was the same Antinomian spirit which dictated the declaration of the Lutherans in 1557, that good works are *not* necessary to salvation;§—and here was the basis also of Calvin's *inamissable grace*, which renders even the worst works no obstacle to the eternal blessedness of the Elect. So rejoiced was I to

no less a personage than that celebrated Helen whose beauty provoked the War of Troy.

* Hence the Magia Demoniaca, or Black Art, is traced to Simon as its inventor. It is but fair, however, to say that some learned persons have doubted whether the Simon mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles was the same with the Heresiarch of the Gnostic Sects. Among others, the learned Frieslander, Vitringa, is of opinion that they were two different persons.

† It is amusing to observe the irritation which any allusion to this famous colloquy is sure to produce in the temper of most Protestant controvertists. Unable to get rid of Luther's own statement of the matter, all that they have for it is to deny stoutly that this conference had any influence on his opinions concerning the Mass. We are, indeed, assured gravely by Claude and others, that Luther had both written and spoken publicly against the sacrifice of the Mass two years before any of these suggestions of the Devil were made to him.

‡ Ου δια πραξεων αγαθων αλλα δια χαριτος τυγχανειν της σωτηριας.—Hær. Fab.

§ At the conference held, by order of Charles V., at Worms. We know that Amsdorf, a warm disciple of Luther, even went so far as to maintain that *Good Works were an obstacle to salvation.*

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light, at last, on a sample of genuine Protestantism,—from the same source, too, where the denial of Christ's bodily Presence originated*—that I could not help breaking out in the language of Ulysses, when he, at length, found himself in sight of Ithaca, after all his wanderings,—

> Χαιρ' Ιθακη, μετ' αεθλα, μετ' αλγεα πικρα
> Ασπασιως τεον ουδας ικανομαι.

or, as I translated it, at the moment, in my rapture,—

> Háil, Faith of Protestants!—thou home
> To which so long I've sigh'd to come.
> To seek thee need no longer plague us,
> Thou'rt found, at last, in——Simon Magus.

It may be suspected, perhaps, that one of the chief ingredients of my satisfaction at this discovery, was the malicious pleasure it gave to certain Popish feelings still stirring within me, at being thus able to trace two of the most elemental and vital doctrines of Protestantism to such a source as Simon Magus; and I had myself, I confess, certain misgivings as to the mixture of some such leaven with my joy. Resolving, therefore, to be generous, I repressed at once all unworthy triumph, and thinking it better even to go without Protestantism altogether, than to come by it in this suspicious and disreputable manner, I dismissed Simon Magus entirely from my mind, and hastened on in quest of some more respectable creed-master.

Never yet has there been an extreme opinion started in this world, that there was not an opposite extreme ready to start at the same time. Thus, to the Docetæ, who held that Christ was entirely divine, there was opposed a counter-heresy, that of the Ebionites, who held, with the Protestant Unitarians, that he was merely human. It was, indeed, by dividing the double nature of our Saviour between them, that these two sects contrived to make out their two heresies,—the Docetæ allowing

* From Simon the doctrine of the Docetæ, or Phantastics, took its origin:—"Quoniam Christum Dominum (says Le Grand, under the head of Simon) non veram carnem assumpsisse, nec ejusdem cum nostra nature esse profitebatur, ejusdem in Eucharistia præsentiam, confiteri nolebat.—*Ignatius ap. Theodoret. Dial.* 3."

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that he was God, but not man,* and the Ebionites contending that he was man, not God.

Akin to the Ebionites,† in maintaining the simple humanity of the Saviour, were the Elcesaites, a sect of heretics, half Jews, half Christians, and (if not very much misrepresented,) entire maniacs. As if to make up to Christ for depriving him of his divinity, they attributed to him a human form ninety-six miles long, and twenty-four broad; and this measurement they considered themselves authorized to make by the words of St. Paul (Eph. iii. 18,) where he exhorts Christians to "be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height," of Christ. The Holy Ghost they supposed to be a female, and of much the same dimensions as Christ; and the learned reason they gave for this peculiar notion of the Spirit's sex, was, that *Raouah*, the term in Hebrew for the Holy Ghost, is of the feminine gender; besides (added these *reasoning* Christians,) the inconvenience of having two Fathers for Christ, is, by this interpretation, avoided.

Notwithstanding these blasphemous absurdities, the descendants of the man from whom the sect was named, continued through a long course of time to be honoured as "the Blessed Race;" and, so late as the Reign of Valens, we hear of two sisters of this hallowed breed being held in such extravagant veneration by the people, that not only the dust from their feet, but even the spittle from their mouths were caught up with enthusiasm by the crowd, and preserved in boxes as a charm against all ills.

* Some of those Gnostics, who held that Christ wore only the appearance of man, got over the difficulties of the crucifixion, as they thought, by saying, that, on the way to Mount Calvary, he changed shapes with Simon of Cyrene, who carried the cross, and that Simon was the person really crucified by the Jews, while Christ stood by, invisibly, laughing at their mistake.

† It was the opinion of the Ebionites that God had given the empire of all things to two persons, Christ and the Devil; that the Devil had full power over the present world, and Christ over the world to come,—*Fleury, Hist. Ecclesiast.*

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CHAPTER XXIV.

Scriptural learning of the Gnostics—their theories.—Account of the system of the Valentinians.—Celestial Family.—Sophia—her daughter.—Birth of the Demiurge.—Bardesanes.

To those who have observed how invariably throughout the history of Christianity, the multiplication of heresies, schisms, and innovations in faith has been, at all times, in direct proportion to the diffusion of the Scriptures among the people, it will afford no surprise to learn that the Gnostic heretics, by whom such a flood of fantastic errors was let loose in the first ages, were of all the Christians of that period the most versed in Scripture, and the most laborious in quest of texts to suit their mischievous purposes.* So industrious, indeed, are they known to have been in this line of research, that, notwithstanding the blasphemies and extravagances with which their writings abounded, Erasmus mourns, as a biblical scholar, over the loss of their works, on account of the wonderful stores of scriptural knowledge which they contained.

To such as hold, in direct opposition to the Catholics, that the Sacred Volume cannot be too widely thrown open,—who call out for the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, for all classes of readers, it may not be uninstructive to produce some examples of the use heretofore made of this privilege, and more particularly to show what were the recondite truths and mysteries which those learned searchers of the Sacred Volume, the Gnostics, professed to find in its pages.

To enter into any detailed exposition of the various systems which these heretics put forth,—each new system but presenting a different modification of the same Magian theory of the Two antagonist Principles,†—would be a task far beyond my present purpose. The solution

* "Il ne'est guère d'opinion dans leurs riches théories qu'ils n'aient taché d'appuyer de quelques passages des Ecritures."—*Histoire du Gnosticisme.*

† These principles they called the Two Roots: δυο ριζας οιδα, πονηραν και αγαθην.—*Dial. de recta fide.*

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of the great problem of the Origin of Evil was the object at which all these elaborate, and, in some few instances, poetical inventions aimed; and, in most of them, the theory of a Good and an Evil Principle is combined with the notion, also Eastern, of certain spiritual existences, or Æons, supposed to have proceeded by emanation from the one Supreme Fountain of Being.* In the system of Valentinus, however, of which I am about to give some account, this process of emanation was, under the sanction of the doctrine of Christ's Sonship, exchanged for that of Generation; and how prodigal was the use made by the heresiarch of this orthodox precedent the following sketch of his system, collected from Irenæus and other writers on ancient heresies, will show.

He supposed the unknown and inaccessible Father to have dwelt, from all eternity, in silence and repose, accompanied only by a certain Power, or Intelligence, that served him as consort, and by which, or whom, in the fulness of time, he produced a son and daughter, bearing the names of Nous and Aletheia. This pair, in their turn, gave being to another couple called Logos and Zoe, and these, again, to a fourth pair, Anthropos and Ecclesia. All these eight Æons he pretended to find expressly named in the opening verses of the Gospel of St. John.

This process of spiritual procreation having been thus carried on, couple after couple, through fifteen generations, the number of thirty spiritual beings, or Æons, came at last to be collected, forming altogether that Pleroma, or Plenitude, of spiritual existence, to which St. Paul, said these heretics, clearly alludes in the Epistle to the Colossians, i. 19,—"For it pleased the Father that in him all Fulness should dwell." The exact number, too, of Thirty Æons is, said they, manifestly figured by the thirty years of his life during which Christ remained concealed from the world.

Of the last born of the fifteen couples that composed this celestial family, the female, whose name was Sophia, or Wisdom, happened, by some accident or other, to slip out of the Pleroma into infinite space; and there, alone and bewildered, would infallibly, it is supposed, have been

* This perfect Æon, existing before all things, they described as dwelling on some "invisible and unnameable heights:" ἐν ἀόρατοις καὶ ἀκατονομάστοις ὑψώμασι.—Irenæus.

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lost, had not Horus, who seems to have acted as a sort of watchman of the Pleroma, gone in quest of the stray Spirit, and brought her safe back again. She had, however, during her short absence from home, given birth to a daughter, who, though spiritual like her mother, was, from the peculiar circumstances under which she was born, and her exclusion from the bright region of the Pleroma, unformed and degenerate. The fall of this twelfth Æon (Sophia) is, they allege, marked out in the fall of Judas, the twelfth apostle, as well as by the disease of the woman, in Matthew ix. 20, which had lasted twelve years, and which the power of Christ, like that of Horus, stopped and healed.

In the mean time, Nous,—by the especial foresight of the Father, who wished to guard against any diminution of the Æon family by the occurrence of such another accident as had happened to the Sophia,—added a new couple of Beings, male and female, to their community, namely, Christ and the Holy Ghost, by whom the security of the Pleroma, and the union of its heavenly occupants, was ratified. From Christ they all learned to know the Father, or, rather, were taught to content themselves with knowing that he is incomprehensible; while, by the Holy Spirit, they were instructed how to laud this great Being, and to dwell together in perfect unity and repose. In testimony of their gratitude for this state of blessedness, the Æons agreed, with the full consent of the Father, to produce, among themselves, by joint contribution, Jesus, or the Saviour,—each furnishing towards the production of this new Being whatever was most exquisite in their own natures, so as to render him the flower of the whole Pleroma, and hence is it (said the Valentinians,) that St. Paul declares of Jesus, the Saviour, that "in him dwelleth all the Fulness of the Godhead.

While within the Pleroma all this joy prevailed, in the dismal region without, the poor offspring of Sophia (herself distinguished by the name of Sophia Achamoth) was left, a formless abortion, to wander through the void. Once, pitying her distress, Christ stretched forth his cross to aid her; but though his touch gave form and life, it imparted not science, and, accordingly, still was the lone outcast abandoned to her fate, experiencing all the misery of desire without knowledge, and left a prey to the va-

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rious passions of sadness, fear, and anguish, which have since become the lot of the humanity that sprung from her.

In this state of suffering, she, at last, turned to him who gave her life, and that one movement of conversion changed her whole fate. Sent graciously down by Christ to her aid, the Saviour came attended by his angels, and releasing her from the yoke of the passions, without altogether extinguishing them, bestowed upon her at last the long-desired gift of knowledge. Her look of joy, we are told, at this deliverance was felt through all Chaos, and from that first smile of Sophia Achamoth the origin of light is to be dated. From this moment, too, began that series of creative and pro-creative operations by which this world and all that it contains was produced. The various offsprings, spiritual, psychic, and material, to which Sophia and her new friends, the angels, gave birth between them, it is not easy to describe and still less so to understand. Suffice it to say, that out of this commerce sprung that inferior God, or Demiurge, by whom, according to all the Gnostic sects, this visible world was created.

Such was the fanciful account given by Valentinus of the events that happened, as he supposed, in the world of the Unknown Father, before the creation of this;—such the wild tissue of fiction which its inventor boasted to have derived from the secret communications of Christ himself to his apostles, and which was, strange to say, adopted by a large portion of the Christian world, extending even into Gaul and Spain, during the second and third centuries.*

Had we only the vague and forced applications of Scripture by which the Valentinians supported this fantastic theology to assist us in judging of the Gnostics,† as interpreters of Holy Writ, our opinion of their ingenuity

* It was not till towards the beginning of the fifth century that the Valentinians may be said to have dwindled away. Gregory of Nazianzum, who died towards the close of the fourth, represents them as then among the almost extinguished sects.

† "Ces allegories et ces personifications se comprenaient encore parfaitement au second siècle de notre ère; cependant, dès que les docteurs orthodoxes se furent séparés distinctement des partisans de la Gnose, ils leur en firent des objets de reproche; et S. Éphrem ne rapporte qu'en tremblant le blasphême de Bardesanes, qui osoit donner deu filles au Saint Esprit."—*Histoire du Gnosticisme.*

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in this line must have fallen far short of their reputation. Of the speculations, however, of some of their other sects enough has been preserved,—more particularly of the Marcionites, on the subject of the Old Testament,—to show that, in applying their wild theories to Scripture, they were at least sufficiently acute to be mischievous; and, above all, to show at what an early period an opening was made for infidelity by the adoption of that proud, Protestant principle, the right of Private Judgment, and the desertion, in consequence, of those only true and safe guides, the Apostolical Traditions and the Authority of the Church.

Through all the other Gnostic sects the same system Æonogony prevailed, the points of difference between their theories lying more in the details than in the principle. Thus Bardesanes, though adopting the same notion as to the succession of the Æons by syzygies or couples, yet so far changed the order of their genealogy as to make Christ the immediate son of the Father, by that companion whom he had, in the silence of his solitude, created unto himself. Next after Christ, too, in the order of being, came the sister and spouse of Christ, the Holy Ghost; and a union having taken place between these spiritual personages, two daughters, we are told, named Maio and Sabscho, were their offspring.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Gnostics, believers in Two Gods.—The Creator and the Unknown Father.—Their charges against the Jehovah of the Jews.—Marcion—his Antitheses.—Apelles.—Belief in Two Saviours.—Hatred of the Jewish Code.—Ophites.—Marriage of Jesus with Sophia Achamoth.

However differing from each other in the superstructures of their respective theories, there was one fundamental principle upon which Valentinians, Marcionites, Basilidians, &c., all built, namely, that the God of the Old Testament, whom they held to be the Creator of this

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world, is a wholly different being from the God of the New;—the latter being, according to them, the Unknown and unapproachable Father, of whom Christ was the son, and by whom, in his mercy and goodness, Christ was sent down to earth, to repair the evils which the Demiurge, or Creator, had caused. In support of this bold theory they refer to the contrast, both in spirit and precept, which is so strikingly, they allege, exhibited between the Law and the Gospel, and maintain it to be impossible to believe that both could come from the same hand. While the Being revealed by the Saviour, said they, is a God of Mercy and Love, the Jehovah, or Demiurge, was a God ignorant, unjust, vindictive, and inconsistent.

Of the ignorance of the Jehovah, one of the instances they give is his not knowing where Adam was, when he sought him in the garden, nor whether he had yet eaten of the forbidden tree. "And the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou? * * * * hast thou eaten of the tree?" But, though most of their articles of impeachment against the Creator are either thus frivolous, or fanciful, there are some that have appeared sufficiently acute and searching to be thought worthy of revival by modern infidels. For instance, his incapacity, they say, as a Creator, was manifestly proved by his having so ill-performed his task in creating Man, as to be forced to repent him of his work, and even to resolve on destroying all living things (Genesis, vi. 6, 7.) The advice given by him to his chosen people, on their departure from Egypt, to despoil the Egyptians of their valuables, under the pretence of borrowing them, was the ground of another of those daring charges against the God of the Jews, in which these heretics but anticipated the profane scoffs of Voltaire and his followers. In ridiculous consistency, too, with the name Καθαροι, or *Puritans*, which, like some modern Protestants, a few of these sects assumed, one of the minor faults they objected to the Jehovah, was, his habit of *swearing*, and—what appears to have been, in their eyes, an aggravation of the offence—swearing by *himself*. The only merit, indeed, they seemed inclined to allow to this Being was that of candour as to his own evil-doings,—he himself having, as they said, acknowledged through his organ, Isaiah (xlv, 7,) that darkness and evil were the work of his hands,

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It was in support of this peculiar view of the two dispensations that the Gnostic chief, Marcion, exerted particularly, as I have already said, his acumen and zeal. To show how opposite were the characters of the Jewish and the Christian God, and how much at variance with each other, in spirit, are the Law and the Gospel, this heretic drew up what he called "Antitheses,"* in which the precepts of the two codes are brought in contrast with each other. Observe, said he, the difference;—by the Creator the principle of fierce retaliation is inculcated, "eye for eye and tooth for tooth" (Exod. xxi. 24,) while by the Saviour we are forbidden to return even an insult (Luke vi. 29.) Jesus cured the blind (John ix.;)—David, on the contrary, hated and ill-treated them (2 Samuel v. 8.) The messenger of the Supreme God suffered little children to come unto him, and blessed them (Mark x. 14. 16;)—the messenger of the Creator cursed them, and gave them to be devoured by bears (2 Kings ii. 24.)

With some ingenuity, too, he cited, as confirmatory of his doctrine, the following verse from St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians:—"In whom *the God of this world* hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them." By "the God of this world" is to be understood, said Marcion, the Demiurge, or Creator, in contradistinction to the good God, or Father of Jesus Christ, who is the God of the Christians. So dangerously strong in his favour was this passage considered, that, in order to evade its force, Tertullian and Irenæus were for putting a comma after "God," so as to separate it from the words, "of this world," and thus strain the structure of the sentence to the following meaning:—"In whom God had blinded the minds of the unbelievers of this world."

That Christ himself meant to establish an opposition between the old and new order of things appears clearly, this heretic said, from his discourses against the Law and

* It would appear that this sort of antithetical comparison was a favourite weapon with the heretics even in St. Paul's time, who warns Timothy to avoid the αντιθεσεις της ψευδωνυμου γνωσεως—"the antitheses of the falsely-named Gnosis, or Gnosticism;" for such, it appears to me, ought to be the translation of the words, and not, as now, "oppositions of science falsely so called."

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the Prophets, and such allusions to the incompatibility of the two dispensations as are conveyed in those sayings, "no man putteth wine in old bottles," and "no man can serve two masters." A similar allusion to the Law and the Gospel he professed to find in the words of the Apostle, "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life," which mean clearly, he maintained, that the code of Moses left man in death, ignorance, and vice, while the sublime revelation of the Christos imparts the Pneuma, or breath, of Divine life.

He found also, as he thought, a precedent for his antithetical theory in the language held by St. Paul to the Judaizing Christians, and in the contrast drawn by that Apostle between the Jewish and Christian Dispensations, as being, the former but a type, the latter the substance; —the one transitory and peculiar, the other universal and permanent.

When once, in religion, a departure from the right line commences, each succeeding step but increases the deviation;—and this was remarkably exemplified in the course of all the successors of these ancient heresiarchs. Apelles, one of the disciples of Marcion, improved upon the daring criticism of his master, and, in a work similar to the Antitheses, to which he gave the name of Syllogisms, not only brought forth again all the alleged contradictions between the Old and New Testaments, but laboured to point out such inconsistencies and contrarieties between different parts of the Hebrew Scriptures themselves, as, if proved, must have considerably weakened, if not entirely overturned their authority.*

One of the most instructive lessons we learn, perhaps, from history is to know that the same principles, whenever acted upon, will be found, almost invariably, to lead to the same consequences. Just such results as we see here brought about by the presumption of individual judgment and the rejection of authority again flowed from the unbridled outbreak of the same restive principles at

* The very same system has been pursued by Voltaire, in his attacks on the Old Testament (See *Diction. Philosoph. &c.*:)—"En effet, (says the author of the *Histoire du Gnosticisme*) Marcion articula contre les codes et les institutions Judaiques plus d'accusations ou, si l'on veut, plus de blasphêmes qu'il n'en est sorti de la bouche des *libres penseurs* ou des *esprits forts* du 18e siècle."

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the Reformation; heresy being, in both cases, the pioneer of infidelity, and the fancied triumphs of reason but ending, at last, in the death of all faith.

Having established two Gods, these Gnostic heretics could not be long in finding out that their system would be incomplete and inconsistent without having also two Saviours;—the attributes of the promised Messiah of the Jews, being, according to their view, wholly different from those that characterized the Son and Messenger of the Supreme Father. The one had been announced as a conqueror, and as the restorer of the Jewish Empire, while the other came to bring peace and salvation to all people.* The Saviour of the Demiurge was (according to the Creator's prophet, Isaiah,) to be called Emmanuel, which was not, said they, the name of Christ; and while the former had been promised as the Son of David, the latter altogether disclaimed the relationship. The solution which they gave of the whole difficulty was, that the real Saviour, unknown and unannounced as he had been to the world, was not unwilling to take advantage of the hope of a Messiah which the Prophets of the Creator had diffused among mankind, in order that by passing himself off as the Deliverer expected so long, he might the more effectually perform the great mission intrusted to him and emancipate this world from the yoke of the Demiurge. Leaving, therefore, the supreme Heavens of his Father, and traversing those of the Creator, he assumed, on approaching earth, the outward semblance of a man (without having recourse, said they, to the unworthy expedient of human parentage and an incarnation) and made his appearance, for the first time, among men, in the synagogue of Capernaum, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius.

Entertaining notions so dark of the God of the Israelites, and of his Code, it was but consistent in these heretics to hold all connected with the Jewish Dispensation in the utmost horror. To such a length was this antipathy carried by them, that the Marcionits, who made it a rule

* The Rabbins supposed, in the same manner, that there would be two Messiahs: the one poor, miserable, and devoted to death; the other, the restorer of the Jewish Empire. To Josephus, too, has been attributed the absurdity of believing that Christ was one Messiah and the Emperor Vespasian the other.

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to fast on a Saturday, professed to do so from a mere feeling of spite to the Creator who had commanded the Jews to hold a feast on that day; and a branch of the Gnostics, called Antitactæ, did not hesitate to acknowledge that they infringed the commands of the Jewish God, solely because they were his.

But the sect which most systematically, and, considering the principle on which it was founded, most consistently followed up these views of the Old Testament, was that of the Ophites, or Serpentinians, by whom all persons who had, since the creation of the world, been known to have suffered for their opposition to the Creator's will, were regarded with affection and veneration as victims of an unjust God, and as martyrs to the hope of a better order of things under the Supreme Being and his son. Cain, for instance, was revered by them with peculiar fervour, and over the ruins of Sodom and Gomorrah they mourned most religiously. But the great object of their worship, and that from which they derived their name, was no other than the original Serpent himself, who, so far from being, as the world supposes, a tempter and deceiver, was, according to these dreamers, man's earliest and best benefactor. The command given to our first parents not to eat of the Tree of Knowledge was but a device, said they, planned by the jealous Jehovah to detach man from his protectress, the heavenly Sophia, and debar him from all knowledge of celestial things. That good Æon,* however, ever watchful over her charge, resolved to baffle the Creator, and sending Ophis, one of her Genii, in the form of a serpent, into Paradise, ordered him to persuade Adam to break this capricious law, and to eat of the fruit that would open to him all heavenly knowledge. According to some of the Ophites, too, this Serpent was no other than the Saviour himself,—as was manifest, they said, from the life-giving effects attributed to the brazen serpent in Numbers, xxi. 9, and the application of that type to Jesus, in John, iii. 14.

* Among the titles given by the Valentinians to their Sophia was that of Κυριος, or Lord; and Tertullian ridicules them with, perhaps, somewhat more facetiousness than beseems a grave Father of the Church, on the confusion which, in this, and in other instances, they fell into, respecting her sex:—"Ita," he says, "omnem illi honorem contulerunt fœminæ puto et barbam,—ne dixerim cætera."—*Adv. Valentin.*

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On the same principle, and with no less daring absurdity, did a branch of this sect single out Judas from all the Apostles of our Lord, as the only one sufficiently deep in the counsels of Heaven, to know of what infinite importance it was that Christ should be sacrificed by the Jews. Apprized secretly, said they, by the heavenly Sophia that the consequence of this death would be the downfall, for ever, of the Zabaoth, or Jewish God, he felt himself bound to accelerate so blessed a result, and thus, by betraying his Master, helped to save mankind.* For this insight into the true nature of the transaction they professed to be indebted to a Gospel written by Judas, which had descended to their sect, and was the only one, in their opinion, worthy of any credit.†

With respect to the ultimate result that was to arise out of all this complex agency which the Gnostics supposed to be at work in the supernatural world, the consummation to which the Valentinians looked forward, as the crowning of the whole, was that finally all spiritual creatures shall be restored to their primitive nature, and, reaching at last the full maturity of perfection, shall ascend together into the Pleroma, there to dwell with the spiritual mates allotted to them, following, in this respect, the example of the Æon, Jesus himself, who shall then resume his high station in the celestial abode, linked for ever with his beatified bride, Sophia Achamoth!‡

* These were also among the opinions held by the Cainites, or venerators of Cain, who proceeded exactly upon the same principle, and, in most points, agreed with the Ophites. As all of these sects pretended to some special sources of information, the Cainites professed to have founded their peculiar tenets upon certain revelations made to them of those unutterable things which St. Paul had seen in his flight, or rapt, to the Third Heavens.

† The sect of the Ophites is said to have been in existence so late as the sixth century; and that they were numerous and flourishing in the time of Ephrem Syrus, appears highly probable from the pains taken by that Saint to denounce and curse them.

‡ In the Acts of the Apostle Thomas (one of the apocryphal books of the Encratitæ and other heretics,) we find an Ode expressly relating to this celestial marriage.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

Catalogue of Heresies.—The Marcosians, Melchisedecians, Montanists, &c.—Why noticed.—Clemens Alexandrinus inclined to Gnosticism —Tertullian, a Montanist.—St. Augustin, a Manichæan.

HAVING dwelt so long on these few branches of the luxuriant stem of Gnosticism, I have but little claim on the reader's patience for more than a hasty glance at some of the other forms of this and its kindred heresies; and the most compendious way, perhaps, will be to lay before him a short *catalogue raisonnee* of a few of the most remarkable of these sects that occur to me.*

The Marcosians, as if to outdo the Trinity, established a sort of Quarternity in the Supreme Father, and maintained that the plenitude of Truth was to be found in the Greek alphabet,† grounding their fancy upon these words in the book of Revelation—"I am Alpha and Omega." Their founder, Mark, too, not only asserted that God had had several children, but spoke of these children (says St. Iranæus) with as much confidence as if he had been present at all their births.

The Melchisedecians, as their name imports, selected

* To those who are curious in the study of ancient heresies, I beg to recommend a work which, though compiled by a man of but little soundness of judgment, as regards his own opinions, is rich in information and references respecting the opinions of the heretics,—the *Elenchus Hæreticorum omnium* of Prateolus. For a more concise account of the differect sects, Le Grand's *Historia Hæresiarcharum* may be consulted; and those who prefer seeing the subject treated in a Protestant sense, will find it ably done by the learned Ittigius, *De Hæresiarchis ævi Apostolici, &c.*

† Allowing his fancy to be carried away by a false notion of the Logos, or Word, the founder of the Marcosians supposed those emanations from the Deity which composed the heavenly Pleroma to have proceeded from him originally as *Words*, consisting each of a certain mystic number of letters. Thus the first word which the Supreme Being pronounced was a syllable of four letters, every one of which became a distinct being, and composed what Mark called the first Tetrad. The second word was also of four letters and formed the second Tetrad, completing that amount of spiritual entities to which the Valentinians gave the name of the Ogdoad. The third word was of ten letters, and so on,—through an infinite series of arithmetical and inconceivable nonsense.

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Melchisedec as the object of their worship, holding that he was a Dynamis, or divine power,—superior to Jesus Christ as being mediator between God and the Angels, whereas Christ was only mediator between God and Man.

The Massalians, having read in Scripture that "the Devil goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour," and not content with a single prowler of this kind, imagined that the whole atmosphere was brim-ful of devils, and that people inhaled them with the vital air. In consequence of this idea, their whole time was passed in spitting and blowing their noses, in the intervals of which latter exercise, they imagined that they caught glimpses of the Trinty.

The Pereans, with a prodigality of divine means not very philosophical, established in their system three Fathers, three Sons, and three Holy Ghosts; and it is supposed to be against these sectaries that the Athanasians of the present day are called upon to protest when they say that "there is but one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; and one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts."

The Montanists, a most numerous and long flourishing sect, took it on the word of their founder that he was the very Paraclete promised by the Redeemer to perfect his new Law of the Gospel. These heretics (who are not to be accounted any branch of the Gnostics) held that God had already made two unsuccessful attempts to save mankind, first through the medium of Moses and the Prophets; and, secondly, by his own manifestation in the flesh. Both these plans, however, having failed, he was at last obliged to descend by the Holy Ghost, and divide himself, by a sort of triple inspiration, between Montanus and two ladies of quality, of no very reputable characters, who lived with him.* A particular branch of this sect, *the Ascites*, used to place near their altar a kind of bladder, well blown up, and dance round it, regarding the bladder as an emblem of that spiritual inflation with which they

* Prisca and Maximilla. Montanus boasted that to himself and his two Prophetesses had been given the fulness of God's spirit, whereas to St. Paul it had been but imperfectly communicated,—that Apostle himself having confessed, (1 Cor. xiii. 9) that he but "knew in part and prophesied in part."

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themselves had been favoured by the Holy Ghost. Another branch, the *Tascodrugitæ*, or *Pattalorinchitæ*, made it a point of devotion to put their fingers upon their noses, or into their mouths, during prayer, professing therein, says St. Augustin, to imitate David;—"Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth; keep the door of my lips."* (Ps. cxli. 3.)

The Manichees.—On the heresy of Manes, which began to flourish towards the end of the third century, the departing spirit of Gnosticism seems to have let fall its dark mantle. In imitation of Christ, the founder of the Manichees professed to have been born of a virgin, and also attached to himself twelve apostles, by one of whom false Acts were fabricated, and fathered on the Apostles of our Lord.

It may appear to some persons but an idle task thus to rake up such blasphemous follies; but, as showing the wantonness with which Private Judgment has, in so many instances, careered through Scripture, and the "fantastic tricks before high heaven," which in these moods, it plays, such historical examples cannot be deemed unuseful. It should be recollected, too, that follies, however gross, become, when adopted by large portions of the human race, matters of grave import; and there is hardly one of the wild, senseless systems I have here enumerated that did not occupy the boasted reason of mankind, whether in supporting or refuting it, through a lapse of many centures. The Gnostic sects had each their special Gospels, either forged or corrupted from those of the Evangelists;† and each also adopted a peculiar Canon of Scripture, rejecting (as did Luther afterwards, in the case of the Epistle of St. James,) whatever happened not to suit their respective purposes. The

* Another wise sect, the Discalceati, in order to show the accuracy of their spiritual knowledge, always went without shoes,—God having said to Moses, (Exod. iii. 5) "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet."

† Thus the Ebionites made use of the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, leaving out, however, as contrary to their belief in the simple humanity of Christ, the three first Chapters. Marcion composed a Gospel for himself by mutilating and altering that of St. Luke:—and a question as to which was the most authentic, Marcion's Gospel or St. Luke's, has long been contested among the German Rationalists. The heretic, Tatian, instead of choosing, like the rest, some one of the four Evangelists, or some apocryphal relation, made a code out of the four Gospels, which he called the Harmony of the Gospels.

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Marcionites, too, of whose wild system of Christianity I have just given some account, were able to boast not only martyrs, but a long succession of bishops.

Nor can we wonder that light, ordinary minds should have been whirled into these great Maelstroms of heresy, when, even among the Catholic Fathers themselves, some of the ablest were sucked into the vortex. In the Clementine Homilies, a work which, though not of that high parentage its assumed name imports, seems acknowledged to have been the production of some eminent Christian of the second age, it is said of the Sophia of the Gnostics, that God himself rejoices in her alliance. The language in which Clement of Alexandria speaks of the Gnosis breathes all the spirit of that sect;* and, so late as the beginning of the fifth century, we find in the Odes of the Bishop Synesius such a display of Gnostic thoughts and phrases as renders them far more like the compositions of a Valentinian or Marcosian than of a Catholic Pastor.

Of the catching influence of some of the other great heresies, we have yet more signal examples. The shrewd Tertullian was induced to believe in Montanus as the Paraclete promised by Christ, and, for a time, surrendered his strong mind to the gross delusions of that impostor and his two inspired women of quality. St. Augustin remained attached to the sect of the Manichees till his thirtieth year; and through him has the dark infection of this heresy been transmitted to succeeding ages,—even to the tinging of the sacred waters of Catholicity with its stain. A history, indeed, of the errors and extravagances of heresy† is but too closely connected with that of the human mind itself, as showing what derangements even the soundest intellects are exposed to by such extravasa-

* The author of *l'Histoire du Gnosticisme* goes so far as to assert that, "Plus on examine les opinions des premiers siècles plus la Gnosis y apparait comme philosophie dominante."

† How curiously, if not always usefully, an investigation of this kind may be made subservient to the illustration of the Sacred text itself, has been shown in those elaborate researches into the history of Gnosticism with which Dr. Burton has, in his Bampton Lecture, enriched the learned world.

In looking over this laborious work, I find a remark which I have hazarded some pages back, p. 125, (respecting the allusion contained in 1 Tim. iii. 20. to Gnosticism,) anticipated and confirmed.

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tions of the life-blood of Faith out of those regular channels in which God designed it steadily and healthily to flow.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Discovery, at last, of Protestantism among the Gnostics.—Simon Magus the author of Calvinism.—Calvinistic doctrines held by the Valentinians, Basilidians, Manichæans, &c.

Though I may have been tempted, in the preceding chapters, by the curious nature of my subject, to indulge in somewhat more lengthened details, respecting the Gnostic sects, than the immediate purpose of these pages required, it must also, I think, have been observed that, in those apparently excursive inquiries, the main object of my pursuit has been seldom, if for an instant, forgotten. Nor, even thus far, had I any reason to complain of a want of success in my researches; since, as furnishing precedents for the free exercise of that great Protestant privilege which entitles every man to interpret the Scriptures according to his own judgment and fancy, the worthy believers in Sophia Achamoth had come up to the full pitch of all that my most independent tastes could desire. Promising, too, as all this looked, it was but the dawn of what I had yet to discover among these heretics. In taking thus such independent and self-willed views of Scripture, they but started on a principle common to all manner of heresies;—but I soon found that, as models for my purpose, their example did not stop here. In short, I discovered, to my great joy, that, in some of their leading doctrines, *the Gnostics were essentially and radically Protestant.**

* I can answer confidently for my young friend that at the time when this discovery presented itself to him, he was not, in the least degree, aware that the late Bishop Tomline had, in his Refutation of Calvinism, put forth the same curious fact;—one of the Chapters of the Bishop's work being entitled as follows: "Opinions of earliest Heretics bearing resemblance to Calvinism."

The fact, however, of Calvinism being but a reproduction of the

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My readers, no doubt, will remember the exceeding joy and surprise with which, at the close of my long search after Protestantism in the first ages, I at length stumbled on a stanch Calvinist in the person of Simon Magus. "*Not by virtuous actions* (said this heretic) *but by Grace is salvation to be attained.*" It will also, perhaps, be recollected that, from certain generous scruples, I then hesitated to take advantage of such disreputable authority; and, though long foreseeing that my Protestantism must be of heretical descent, yet felt anxious, for the honour of all parties, that it should be of some better breed. To say the truth, too, I was not quite sure that this glimpse of genuine Calvinism might not be, after all, but a chance sparkle, and that I should see nothing more of it. On passing on, however, from the Arch-heretic to the numerous sects that sprung from him, I found this feature of the parent faithfully reproduced in all his offspring; I found that they all, in some point or other, anticipated the Reformed lights of Geneva and Wittemburgh; and that if I had, at once, designated Simon Magus as the fount and wellspring of some of the most boasted of the Protestant doctrines, I should have asserted no more than it was in my power indisputably to prove.

The utter depravity of man's nature,—the insufficiency, or rather nullity of good works towards salvation,—the powerlessness of the human will,—the doctrines of election, reprobation, and perseverance,—such are the great points of what is now called "Vital Christianity," on which I found the very spirit of the Reformation reigning throughout these sects; and could I have been content to receive my Protestantism at the hands of Christians who believed in two Gods, two Saviours, and a maternal Holy Ghost, I might from these Evangelical repositories have provided myself to my heart's content.

In each of the Gnostic sects, for instance, there was a distinct class of persons, who alone were thought sufficiently spiritual to be certain of salvation, while all

Gnostic, and other heresies is too obvious not to have struck learned observers, long before the time of Bishop Tomline. The illustrious Dutch divine, Lindanus, in his Dialogues on the revival of ancient heresies, enforced ably and incontrovertibly the same point; and by the celebrated scholar, Petavius, in the Preface prefixed by him to the works of Epiphanius, it is no less strongly asserted.

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others were considered reprobate and incapable of saving themselves. These chosen few the Valentinians called the *Elect Seed*, holding that their faith did not come by instruction, but by nature and election. "They affirm," says Irenæus, "that they themselves shall be entirely and completely saved, not by their own conduct, but because they are spiritual by nature."*

The same doctrine of Election was maintained also by Basilides,—coupled with that other Calvinistic doctrine which necessarily results from it, the slavery of the human will:—"He tells us (says St. Clement of Alexandria) that faith is not the rational consent of a mind endowed with free-will. The precepts then, both of the Old and New Testament are superfluous, if any one be saved by nature, as Valentinus maintains, and if any one be faithful and elect by nature, as Basilides thinks." By another also of these heresiarchs, Bardesanes, it was, in like manner, asserted, that man can do nothing of himself, being a creature wholly without freedom, and impelled by irresistible decrees.†

The high Calvinistic tenets of the inamissibility of Grace and Perseverance of the Elect were maintained as resolutely by the Valentinians as by the Synod of Dort itself.‡ "Gold," said they, "though fallen in the mire, is still gold, and loses nothing of its original lustre or nature. Even so is it with the Elect;—let their conduct be what it may, they can never forfeit their high distinctive privilege."—(*Irenæus.*) The natural consequences of such dangerous doctrine showed themselves then, as on its revival, at the Reformation. "Where-

* Αυτους δε μη δια πραξεως αλλα δια το φυσει πνευματικους ειναι παντη τε και παντως δογματιζουσιν σωθησεσθαι.—*Iren.*

† In the accounts given of the opinions of this heretic there is some apparent inconsistency. Though he was the author (as we know from Eusebius) of a work against Destiny, he is yet represented as having been an advocate for the doctrine of fatality. The truth seems to be that he considered *souls* as exempt from the laws of destiny, but looked upon all connected with *bodies* as under the control of fate and the stars.

‡ "Such as have once received that grace by faith can never fall from it finally or totally, notwithstanding the most enormous sins they can commit."—*Synod of Dort, Art. 5.* Even the canting phraseology of our modern Saints is manifestly derived from the same source. Thus, St. Justin tells us of some of these Elect persons who said of themselves that, "though they were sinners, yet if they *knew God*, the Lord would not impute to them sin."

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fore," says the same writer, "those of them who are the most perfect do without fear all things which are forbidden." "I speak," says Clement of Alexandria, "of the followers of Basilides, who lead incorrect lives, as persons authorized to sin because of their perfection;* or who will certainly be saved by nature, even though they sin now, because of an election founded in nature."

The Manichæans, from whom more directly was transmitted to our heretics the gloomy doctrine of the utter depravity of man, held also many of the other precious tenets that have descended with this bequest. "Manichæus asserts (says St. Jerome) that his Elect are free from all sin, and that they that could not sin if they would." The same Father says, "Let us briefly reply to those slanderers who reproach us; by saying that it belongs to the Manichæans to condemn the nature of man and to take away free-will."

Here, then, had I, at last accomplished the discovery, not only of a single sect, but of whole tribes and generations of Protestants;—a discovery as unlooked for, and certainly far more authentic than that of the snug nest of Presbyterians, which Ledwich found out among the wilds of Tipperary, in the middle of the sixth century.† Could I have detected but a millesimal part of this high Protestantism among the *orthodox* of the first ages, how my heart would have rejoiced! how my conscience would have been soothed by the discovery! One particle, one drop of such true Geneva doctrine would have sent me to my pillow in comfort. But, no—base, indeed, was the resource to which I now found myself reduced; and accordingly, urgent as were my motives for conversion, I came sturdily to the resolution that, rather than exchange the bright, golden armour of the old Catholic Saints for this heretical brass, lackered over by modern hands, I would submit to the worst doom my worldly fate could have in store for me.

* Some of these sects, not unworthy forerunners of the Anabaptists, declared that a community of goods and of wives was the just and true happiness of their Elect:—Ἡ πασων ουσιων και γυναικων κοινωνια της θειας εστι δικαιοσυνης:—which words form the commencement of one of those curious Inscriptions, said to have been found near Cyrene, and first published by the learned Rationalist, Gesenius.

† The Culdees.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

Another search for Protestantism omong the orthodox as unsuccessful as the former.—Fathers the very reverse of Calvinists.—Proofs.—St. Ignatius, St. Justin, &c.—Acknowledged by Protestants themselves.

On returning again to the train of thought which had thus occupied me, and reflecting how lucky I should have accounted myself, could I have detected, among the orthodox of the Primitive Church, any such specimens of Protestantism as I was here furnished with by the Gnostics, I could not help asking myself, with some anxiety, *was* I, after all, so sure that no such specimens could be found? *had* I, in fact, sufficiently examined into the dogmas of the early Church to have been fully satisfied that no such opiuions as I have been detailing were among them; or *could* it, indeed, be possible that the doctrines of election and reprobation, of the inefficacy of good works towards salvation, the slavery of the human will, the utter inability of man to do the will of God,—that that all these doctrines, now dignified with the name of "vital Christianity," so far from being sanctioned by the authority of the early lights of the Church,* are to be found only in the distempered dreams of those heretical sects against which the Church had, from the first dawn of her existence, to combat?

Such were now the questions I put to myself, and, strange to say, unsuccessful as I had hitherto been in all my exploratory journeys into the region of orthodoxy, a last, feeble hope sprung up, that possibly, on a little farther search, I might discover that the Gnostic heretics had not kept all the Calvinism to themselves, but that some foretaste of this sour fruit was to be found also among the Fathers. Seldom, I will do myself the justice to say, has any instance occurred of a chase followed up, through

* "What is that to us of the Church (says Origen) who condemn those who maintain, that there are some persons formed by nature to be saved, and others formed by nature to perish?"—*Contr. Cels.*

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all reverses, with such unbaffled ardour;—but, alas, this new hope was as fallacious as any of its predecessors. Instead of finding, in the works of the Fathers, the least shadow of a sanction for the horrible* notion, assumed alike by Gnostics and Calvinists, that a select portion of mankind has been singled out for salvation, while all the rest of the human race has been created but to be damned, I read in those authorized expounders of our Faith the very reverse of all this. I found in the excellent St. Justin the far different assurance that the seeds of the Divine Word are implanted equally in all men, and that all who have the will to obtain mercy from God are gifted also with the power.

Still earlier did I read in the apostolic St. Ignatius, that "if any one be pious, he is a man of God; but if any one be impious, he is a man of the Devil, *being made so, not by nature, but by his own will.*" Instead of the picture drawn of human nature by Bardesanes and Calvin, who describe man as a chained slave of destiny, without power or free-will, I saw him represented in the pages of these same Fathers, a free, responsible agent, endowed with a self-determining power towards good or ill,† and having eternal happiness or misery dependent on his choice. "I find that man (says Tertullian) was formed by God with free-will, and with power over himself, observing in him no image or likeness to God more than in

* The very epithet which Calvin himself applies to his doctrine of Reprobation:—"Decretum *horribile* fateor." "Is it not wonderful," says Bishop Tomline, "that any one should ascribe to the God of all mercy a decree which he himself confesses to be horrible?"

That the weapons of most modern heresies are but those of the old ones refurbished, is a remark which has been more than once suggested in these pages; and, as an illustration of it, we may observe that the very same texts now relied upon by the Calvinists, for the support of their favourite doctrines of election and reprobation, were those referred to, for the very same purpose, by their predecessors, the Gnostics, no less than sixteen or seventeen hundred years ago. After quoting several of these texts, (Gal. i. 15, 16; Rom. i. 1; Jerem. i. 5; Ps. li. 5, xxii. 10, lviii. 3,) St. Jerome says, "The Heretics who pretend that there are different natures, and that the one is saved and that the other perishes, maintain from these passages that no one would be understood to be just before he did some good, or would be hated as a sinner before some crime was committed, unless there were a different nature of those who perish and of those who are to be saved."

† "He (St. Justin,) speaks of a self-determining power in man, (αυτεξουσιον,) and uses much the same kind of reasoning on the obscure subject of free-will as has been fashionable with many since the days of Arminius."—*Milner's History of the Church.*

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this respect. . . . . The law also itself, which was then imposed by God, confirmed this condition of man. For a law would not have been imposed on a person who had not in his power the obedience due to the law; nor would transgression have been threatened with death, if the contempt also of the law were not placed to the account of his free-will.

Again, instead of depreciating,—as Simon Magus, and, after him, Luther and Calvin have done,—the efficacy of Good Works, thus triumphantly did I find a contemporary of the apostles extolling their high value. "Let us hasten with cheerfulness and alacrity to perform every good work. . . . . Let us observe that all just men have been adorned with good works. And even the Lord himself with good works, rejoiced. Having, therefore, his example, let us fulfil his will; let us work the work of righteousness with all our strength. We must ever be ready in well doing; for from thence all things are derived."—*St. Clement.*

But it is unnecessary to refer any farther to the numerous citations I had collected to prove that, in none of the Fathers of the Church, before the time of St. Augustin, is any trace of those Protestant doctrines, now called Evangelical, to be found;* but that, on the contrary, while Simon Magus and his followers were engendering that dark brood of fancies, which, in later ages, were to be again quickened into life by Calvin and Luther, the Catholic Church was, through the tongues of her great orators and teachers, asserting eloquently the Universality of the Redemption by Christ, the Freedom of the Human Will,† the precious efficacy of Good Works and Repentance, and the ability of every Christian to work out his salvation. It is unnecessary, I repeat, to take any pains to prove this fact, as already a host of Protestant divines, of all schools of divinity, have conceded it.

* From a passage in the Institutes, (Lib. ii. c. 5, sect. 15,) it is evident that Calvin himself considered Augustin to be the only one of all the ancient Fathers that could be cited as favourable to his doctrine.

† "The Soul is endowed with free-will," says Origen, "and is at liberty to incline either way." To prove that "man has a free-will to believe or not to believe," St. Cyprian quotes Deuteronomy xxx. 19: "I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing; therefore choose life, that thou and thy seed may live."

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The Lutheran, Flacius, for instance, accuses those Fathers, who wrote soon after the Apostles, of being totally ignorant of man's natural corruption, and other such mysteries since discovered in the Gospel;* while the Calvinist, Milner, pretending to find, in the first century, some glimpses of his own doctrines, confesses, that, after that period, these evangelical truths faded away, and were by almost all the succeeding Fathers denied or forgotten. Of Irenæus and St. Justin, who wrote in the second century, he says:—"They are silent, or nearly so, on the Election of Grace; and defend the Arminian notion of Free-will." After taxing St. Clement of Alexandria with a similar want of vital Christianity, he thus, (with the arrogance so hereditarily characteristic of a sect of which Simon Magus, the self-constituted rival of Christ, was the parent,) cavalierly dismisses that learned Father: "On the whole, this writer, learned, laborious and ingenious as he was, may seem to be far exceeded by many obscure and illiterate persons at this day in true scriptural knowledge, and in the experience of divine things."

Well might the judicious Lardner, in noticing some similar instance of presumptuous judgment upon the Fathers, with happy irony, exclaim,—"Poor, ignorant, primitive Christians, I wonder how they could find the way to heaven. They lived near the times of Christ and his Apostles. They highly valued and diligently read the Holy Scriptures, and some of them wrote Commentaries upon them; but yet, it seems, they knew little or nothing of their religion, though they embraced and professed it with the manifest hazard of all earthly good things, and many of them laid down their lives rather than renounce it. Truly, we of these times are very happy in our orthodoxy; but I wish that we did more excel in the virtues which they and the Scriptures likewise, I think, recommend as the distinguishing properties of a Christian."

* In the same manner Basnage, too, complains (*Hist. des Eglises Ref.*) that the ancient Christians expressed themselves "maigrement" on these subjects.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

Return to Heretics.—Find Protestantism in abundance.—Novatians Agnoetæ, Donatists, &c.—Aerius, the first Presbyterian.—Accusations of Idolatry against the Catholics.—Brought forward by the Pagans, as now by the Protestants.—Conclusion of the Chapter.

I HAD now taken my last, positively last, trip into the old orthodox world in quest of Protestantism; and weary as I was of so fruitless, so wild-goose a chase, it was with an ill zest I again returned to the study of my heretics, of whom I now began to be as much ashamed as Falstaff was of his regiment. Having imposed upon myself, however, the task of tracing Heresy through the first Four Ages, I was resolved to go through with my work; and the same run of good luck in finding Protestants,—if good luck it could be called to find them where I did not want them,—among the heterodox and schismatic, still continued to attend me. Far less amusing, however, were these later acquaintance than my old Calvinist friends, the believers in Sophia Achamoth; and, whatever indulgence I might have been inclined to feel towards Private Judgment, in her skittish moods, I now found that to be dull, as well as heterodox, is a sort of supererogation not to be tolerated. I shall content, therefore, myself with singling out, from the heresies of this period, a few of those which, from their peculiarly Anti-Catholic doctrines, may be regarded as the chief channels through which the elements of Protestantism have been transmitted, in full Gnostic perfection, to modern times.

And first, to begin with the Novatians:—these sectaries, who flourished about the middle of the third century, and whose founder is described by St. Cyprian as "a deserter from the Church, a teacher of pride, and a corrupter of the truth," were nevertheless, in their way, as good Protestants as need be, seeing that they denied stoutly to the Church the power of absolving penitent sinners, refused peremptorily to acquiesce in her au-

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thority and traditions, and made their appeal, as all other heretics have done, before and since, to Reason. The language, indeed, of St. Pacian,* in addressing one of these sectaries, may, with the simple substitution of the words placed between brackets, be applied with equal point by a Catholic of the present day to Protestants.

"Who was it (he asks) that proposed this doctrine? was it Moses, or Paul, or Christ? No; it was Novatian [Luther.] And who was he? was he a man pure and blameless, who had been lawfully ordained Bishop? . . . . . And what of all this, you will tell me;—it suffices that he has thus taught. But when did he thus teach? was it immediately after the passion of Christ? No; it was nearly three hundred [sixteen hundred] years after that event. But did this man follow the Prophets? was he a prophet? did he raise the dead? did he work miracles? did he speak various tongues? for to establish a new Gospel he should have done some of these things." The Saint then stating explicitly the Protestant principle upon which these heretics proceeded, "You say, *we do not acquiesce in authority; we make use of reason,*" adds, "As to myself, who have been hitherto *satisfied with the authority and tradition of the Church*, I will not now dissent from it."

Our next sample of good Protestantism is found among the Eunomians, a branch of the Arian heresy, and infected, as was Arius himself, with Gnosticism. The founder of this sect held also, with Valentinian, Basilides, &c., the convenient doctrine of the Perseverance of the Elect, maintaining that all who embraced the truth (meaning thereby *his* opinions) would never fall from a state of grace. Among these saving opinions the principal was, that Christ is *not* consubstantial with the Fa-

* Of this writer, who flourished in the fourth century, Mr. Clarke [*Succession of Ecclesiastical Literature*] pronounces that he "was no less pious than eloquent;" adding, that "there are more errors of the Romish Church, supported in a bolder way and with more direct evidence, in this Father, than perhaps in any other of double the bulk." With all these "blushing" errors "thick upon him," how comes it, let me ask, that St. Pacian was not considered as an *innovator* by his contemporaries, but, on the contrary, had the reputation of being one of the most acute and orthodox divines of his day? The solution is not difficult.

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ther.* This excellent Protestant opposed himself also to the old Catholic practice of paying reverence to relics, and invoking the intercession of Saints; calling, as St. Jerome tells us, by the facetious name of "Antiquarians," all those who attached any value to the bones and relics of Martyrs.

The Agnoeta, or Ignorants (as from their peculiar opinion they were called,) afford another strong example of that sort of heir-loom of error which heretics transmit to their successors, from age to age;—our Saviour's professed ignorance of the time of the day of Judgment (Mark, xiii. 32) on which these sectaries founded their cavils against his Godhead,† having also furnished to that large class of Protestants, called Unitarians, one of the most plausible arguments for their still more extensive unbelief. And such is the cycle which errors seem ever destined to perform,—vanishing away, from time to time, and then darkly reappearing. The very same arms with which the detracters of Christ's divinity assailed the Catholic Doctors of other times, are but again furbished up by the Priestleys and Belshams against the Trinitarian Divines of our own.

The sect of the Donatists, which may be accounted rather a scism than a heresy, and which laid claim to exclusive orthodoxy for Donatist churches,—saying that

* The shrewd argument, as Cave pronounces it, by which Eunomius supported this position is as follows:—a simple Essence, such as is the Divine Being, cannot contain within itself two principles of which one is begetting and the other begot; or,—as I take to have been his meaning, in somewhat plainer terms,—a simple Being, like God, cannot be at once the Begetter and the Begotten.

† Among those texts which the dangerous ingenuity of Private Judgment has contrived to wrest into evidence against the Divinity of the Saviour, this referred to by the Agnoetæ seems to have been found by the Fathers the most difficult to unravel. Some answered that the Son of God meant only that he had no experimental knowledge of the matter. St. Augustin endeavours to get rid of the difficulty by the very forced explanation that by *not knowing*, in this passage, is meant his not making others to know. Some more modern theologians have contented themselves with the very simple solution that "when Christ told his apostles he did not know on what day precisely the general judgment would take place, he very possibly did not give any actual attention to the circumstance."—*Forbes, Inst. Theolog. l.* 2, *c.* 21.) The distinction of the two natures, established by the Council of Chalcedon, affords the only explanation of this and other such difficulties. While as *God*, Christ knew all things; there was much of which, as *Man*, he may be supposed to have been ignorant.

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"God was in Africa, and *not* elsewhere,"—have in so far a claim to be mentioned honourably in Protestant annals that they were the first Christians, I believe, who conferred upon the Catholic Church the polite title of "Whore of Babylon."

We next come to a worthy precursor of the Presbyterians, Aerius, who, having in vain tried to be appointed a Bishop himself, took his revenge by making war on all Bishops whatsoever,* declaring that they had no right to any superiority or jurisdiction over Presbyters. This early champion of the Kirk opposed also the Catholic practice of praying for the dead, and denied to the Church the power of instituting Fasts, saying that every one had a right to choose his own time of fasting. In the reason given by him for this latter claim of independence, namely, that it might be thus shown we were no longer living under the Law, but under Grace, may be observed the workings of that same antipathy to the Law and its precepts, which has been transmitted, through a regular succession of heretics, from the Christian Gnostics down to our modern Antinomians. My chief motive, however, for referring to the sect of the Aerians has been for the sake of the valuable testimony which their heresy affords to the antiquity of the solemn Catholic rite of prayers for the dead,—their dissent from which, in the middle of the fourth century, could never have drawn upon them, so decisively and generally, the brand of heresy, had not this practice descended to those times hallowed by ancient recollections, and sanctioned by the traditions of the Primitive Church.

The same remark will be found applicable to some of the doctrines of Vigilantius, who, though belonging properly to the commencement of the Fifth Century, may be allowed as a single exception to the rule I have imposed upon myself of not extending these researches beyond the close of the Fourth. This heretic, who holds a high rank among the Protoplasts of Protestantism, was a

* In disappointed ambition may most frequently be found the source of those movements by which restless spirits have agitated mankind. Thus Marcion became a heretic on being denied Church preferment; and, with the same feeling, Vanini wrote to the Pope that, if his Holiness did not give him a benefice, he would, in twelve months from that time, overturn the Christian religion.

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writer of what, in the present day, would be called smart anti-popery pamphlets,—laughing, with some degree of humour, at the reverence paid by Catholics to Relics, and at the prayers of Invocation which they addressed to their Saints. "They light up," says he, "large tapers at mid-day, and proceed to kiss and *adore* a small handfull of dust. It must, no doubt, be a mighty service to the Martyrs thus to light up a few bad candles for those whom the Lamb, seated upon his throne, illuminates with all the splendour of his majesty."*

We may here see how far from modern is the disingenuous trick of charging Catholics with being *adorers* of Relics and Images, in the very teeth of their own repeated disclaimers of such idolatry. The flat denial given by St. Jerome to the ribald charge of Vigilantius was, no doubt, as little listened to by the followers of that heretic as are similar declarations of the Catholics of our own days by the implicit readers of the lucubrations of the Rev. G. S. Faber and Co.—"We do *not* worship," says the Saint, "we do *not* adore either the relics of Martyrs, or Angels, or Cherubim, or Seraphim,—lest we serve the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for evermore. But we honour the relics of the Martyrs, that our minds may be raised to *Him* whose Martyrs they are. We honour them, that this honour may be referred to Him who says, 'He that receiveth you, receiveth me.' (Matt. x. 40.") Again, he exclaims indignantly, "Thou madman! who ever yet *adored* the Martyrs? who ever yet fancied that a mortal was a God?"

But this unfair policy of the adversaries of the Catholics is of a still more ancient date than even the times of St. Jerome; and, like almost every other point in the relative position of the two parties, may be traced back as far as the Apostolic age. Even then was the same spirit of misrepresentation alive; even then was the homage offered to the enshrined relics of an Ignatius or a Polycarp denounced by scoffers at the Faith as being an idolatrous transfer of that worship to the creature which be-

* In his answer to Vigilantius St. Jerome says—"The Bishop of Rome, then does wrong, in offering sacrifice to God over the venerable bones of those dead men Paul and Peter,—according to you, but vile dust,—and in regarding the tombs of those Saints as altars."

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longs only to the Creator. That this was the case, in the instance of Polycarp, appears by a Letter from the Church of Smyrna, of which he was Bishop, giving to the Faithful an account of all the circumstances of his martyrdom. "It was suggested," say they, "that we would desert our crucified Master and begin to worship Polycarp. Foolish men! who know not that we can never desert Christ, who died for the salvation of all men, nor worship any other. Him we adore as the Son of God; but we show deserved respect to the Martyrs, as his disciples and followers. The Centurion, therefore, caused the body to be burnt. We then gathered his bones, more precious than pearls and more tried than gold, and buried them. In this place, God willing, we will meet and celebrate with joy and gladness the birthday of his Martyr, as well in memory of those who have been crowned before, as by his example to prepare and strengthen others for the combat."—*Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l.* 4, *c.* 15.

Thus it is, as I have already observed, that the relative position of the two parties,—the Catholic Church on one side, and the protesters against her doctrine on the other,—has been, from the first, and through all ages, virtually the same; the old truths remaining still unchanged, and the old errors, like often detected delinquents, reappearing again and again, under other names, so that, in fact, the Calvinism, Antinomianism, &c. of modern times, are little else than *aliases* of the Gnosticism and Manichæism of times past.

Still more evident might this remarkable fact be made to appear by a yet farther inquiry into the history of past heresies; but, I have already sufficiently tried my reader's patience on this subject. Enough too has, perhaps, been said to show what fantastic gambols the various and ever-teeming spawn of Heresy have, at all times, played around the venerable ark of the Church in her majestic navigation through the great Deep of Ages;—while in vain attempting to sully or perplex her path, shoal after shoal of these monsters have descended into darkness, leaving the one, bright, buoyant Refuge of the Faithful to pursue unharmed, to the end of time, her Saving way.

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CHAPTER XXX.

Brief recapitulation.—Secret out, at last.—Love affair.—Walks by the river.—"Knowing the Lord."—Cupid and Calvin.

I HAD now closed my vain search after Protestantism through the first ages; and the whole process and results of my inquiry may, in a very few sentences, be recapitulated. As Protestants profess to have restored Christianity to its primitive purity, it was but natural to expect that among primitive Christians I should find the best Protestants. Accordingly, betaking myself, as has been seen, to the Apostolical era of the Church, I continued my search from thence downwards, through those four first ages which, like the steps of Jacob's ladder nearest heaven, may be said to have caught most directly and freshly upon them the effusions of divine light. And what, after all, were the fruits of this most anxious and conscientious search? where, let me ask, through that whole pure period, did I find one single Protestant—where even the smallest germ of anti-Catholic doctrine? Was it in the Good Works and Weekly Fasting of Barnabas and Hermas, or in the Corporal Presence and change of the elements maintained by St. Ignatius and St. Justin? Was it in the reverence paid by the former to the oral Traditions of the Church, or the veneration in which his ashes and those of Polycarp were held by the Christians who immediately succeeded them? Did St. Irenæus speak in the spirit of Protestantism when he claimed for the See of Rome "Superior Headship" over all other Churches, or when he pronounced the oblation of the body and blood on the altar to be the Sacrifice of the New Law?—But it is needless to go again, however cursorily, through all the stages of that evidence; which must have proved, I think, to even the least candid reader, that there is not a single one of those doctrines or observances, now rejected by the Protestants, as Popish, that was not professed and practised, on the joint authority of the Scriptures and Tradition, by the whole Church of Christ, through the first four ages.

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While thus I found Catholicity—or, if you will, Popery—among the orthodox of those times, among whom, and among whom alone, was it that I found the doctrines of Protestantism? Let the shade of Simon Magus, that great father of Calvinism, stand forth and answer;—bring the Capharnaites, with their presumptuous questioning as to *how* our Lord could give us his flesh to eat;—let the Gnostic believers in the marriage and progeny of the Holy Ghost bring forward their doctrines of Election, Perseverance, Immutable Decrees, &c.;—let the Manichæans come and assert the utter depravity of human nature and the utter slavery of the human will;—bid the Docetæ, and Marcionites produce their bodiless and bloodless Eucharist;—call Novatian, Aerius, Vigilantius and the like, to protest against Tradition, Prayers for the Dead, Invocation of Saints, and Reverence of Relics;—let, in short, the entire rabble of heretics and schismatics, who, during that time, sprung up in successive array against the Church, come and club their respective quotas of error towards the work, and, I shall answer for it, such a complete body of Protestant doctrine may be therefrom compiled as might have saved the Reformers of Wittenberg and Geneva the whole trouble of their mission.

Such, then, being the view I had taken of this most important matter,—a view adopted, after much deliberation, and with very sincere reluctance,—it will naturally be concluded that, however imperative might have been my motives for turning Protestant, I had now abandoned all thoughts of undergoing so retrograde a metamorphosis. Marvellous, however, as it may well appear, this was by no means the case. On the contrary, I felt myself still drawn on, as by the hand of destiny; and with a sort of fascinated feeling like that of persons standing upon the edge of a precipice, so long had I now been gazing into the misty gulf of Protestantism, that it was with difficulty, I found, I should be able to forbear the leap.

And this brings me, at last, to the explanation which I have so long promised my readers, respecting the motives, which independently of those mentioned at the commencement of this work, impelled me to smother, as far as lay in my power, all religious scruples, and to resolve,—even should I find the features of Protestantism

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not such as would stand the light of day,—to embrace her in the dark. Though foreseeing that my change of faith would be, in a spiritual sense, infinitely for the worse, I yet tried to persuade myself that it was, after all, but fair, that, having suffered so much in the service of a good religion, I should now try to recompense myself by a little of that prosperity which I saw attached to the profession of a bad one. In short, my voyage was, like that of Jason, after a Golden Fleece; nor was there wanting, as will appear from the following narrative, a fair Medea to assist me to the acquisition of it.

The house in which my father resided, on his own small estate, in the county of ———, was situated in the neighbourhood of part of the property of Lord * * *, one of our most considerable absentees, whose agent, a sort of second-hand Lord himself, was left to manage all the concerns of those immense possessions, as though they were entirely his own. About two miles from the house where we lived, lay the residence of this agent, and a close intimacy had, for a long time, subsisted between the two families;—that of the agent consisting but of himself and a rather elderly maiden sister, whose fate it was, as will be seen, to have considerable influence over my destinies, spiritual as well as temporal. The lady and her brother were, it need hardly be said, Protestants, the noble owner of the property being of that class of orthodox persons who would have thought it unsafe to bring any religion in contact with their pounds, shillings, and pence, save only Protestantism.

It was a frequent boast with Miss * * that her family had been all of this dominant faith since the time of the Reformation; though by some of the older neighbours, it was, indeed, hinted, that this Protestantism of hers, if hereditary, had been, for some generations, to their knowledge, in at least a latent state. That it had again broken out, however, in Miss * *, in the most decided form, was allowed by all;—her case being of that species called the Evangelical, or Vital.

This spinster had early expressed a warm interest in my salvation, and having, like all persons of her school, a strong taste for proselytism, would frequently propose to me a walk, along the banks of the river, for the charitable purpose of conversing with me upon religious sub-

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jects, and teaching me, as she expressed it, to "know the Lord" as intimately as she did. What with phrases, indeed, such as I have just quoted, and the exceeding pride she at all times took in talking of her brother's noble patron, the word "Lord," in one shape or the other, was hardly ever out of her mouth,—producing equivoques occasionally, between the spiritual and the temporal, which, though diverting, it would not be quite reverential to mention.

Whether, in these efforts for my conversion, the lady had, originally, any farther view than merely to gratify that love of interference, which in Saints is so active, I will not pretend to determine. But it was not long before I perceived that feelings of another description had a good deal mixed themselves with her anxiety for my spiritual welfare; nor could I help observing that, in proportion as I approached the marriageable time of life, and as she herself receded from it, a more tender tone of interest began to diffuse itself through her manner;—our walks became, through her management, more frequent and prolonged; and even her religious discourses came to be so "rosed over" with sentiment, that never before were Cupid and Calvin so undistinguishable from each other.

Though it was impossible, as I have already said, to be blind to what all this indicated, there were yet circumstances, setting aside the lady's advantage in years, which rendered me incredulous as to her having the least notion of a matrimonial union between us. To become the wife of a Papist, I had frequently heard her declare, would be, on her part, such an act of base and wilful degeneracy as might well make her Protestant ancestors start from their graves with indignation;—in addition to which, having, as was generally believed, no fortune, except what her brother, out of his bounty, might be disposed to give her, it seemed the most improbable thing in the world that she should run the risk of incurring his displeasure by forming an alliance, in other respects so injudicious, with one so ill off in worldly means as myself.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

Rector of Ballymudragget.—New form of shovel.—Tender scene in the shrubbery.—Moment of bewilderment.—Catholic Emancipation Bill carried.—Correspondence with Miss * *.

THUS stood my views of the matter, when, during a visit of a few days to my family, there occurred a circumstance which removed all doubts, as to our fair neighbour's object, and opened a vista into the future which at once dazzled and perplexed me. I have already, in the preceding volume, made my readers acquainted with another of my father's neighbours, the rich Rector of Ballymudragget.—So closely, indeed, from my very infancy, was the figure of this portly personage connected with all my notions concerning matters of religion, that were I now to be blessed with visions as beatific as those of St. Teresa herself, the corpulent shadow of this Rector would be sure to bustle across the light of my dreams.

His vast importance in our neighbourhood,—his eternal tithes, of which I had no other notion, as a child, than that they were a peculiar sort of delicacy on which Rectors lived—his awful hat, which used to be seen moving, like a meteor, along our roads, affrighting the poor and exacting homage from the rich,—the select fewness of the auditory to whom he all but soliloquized his Sunday discourses,—every thing, in short, connected with him concurred to give me a strange and confused notion of the religion of which he was minister, and to make me look up to him as a sort of Grand Lama enshrined at Ballymudragget. As I grew older, I came, of course, to understand the matter more clearly, and to know that, under the mock title of Minister of the Gospel, the old gentleman was but the fortunate holder of a good sinecure of some 2000*l.* per ann., to which the father of the present Lord * * had, some twenty years back, appointed him.

At the period of my visit, just alluded to, the Rev. Gentleman was rather dangerously ill, and, except as a matter of gossipping conversation, the circumstance ex-

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cited but little interest in the neighbourhood. A change of hat, was, indeed, all that most persons speculated on, in the event of his death, and it was generally acknowledged that, as a variety, some new form of shovel would be acceptable. If rumour, however, was to be credited, our snug neighbour, the agent, had a far more substantial interest in the good Rector's demise; the present Lord having, it was said, promised, on succeeding to the title, that the next presentation to the living should be at his agent's disposal.

How far this rumour was founded, I had never even taken the trouble of asking; but, one memorable morning, when a report, it appeared, had got abroad, that the old Rector was so much worse as to be given over by his physicians, Miss * * proposed to me a walk to the Parsonage House to make inquiries. On our arrival at the door, we were admitted, and while the servant took up our message, my companion and I sauntered through the trellised conservatory which opened from the Rector's well-furnished study into the neat lawn and shrubberies by which his mansion was surrounded. Having never before seen the place by daylight, I happened to ejaculate, as we walked along, "What luxury! what comfort!" when my fair companion, as if unable to contain her feelings any longer, turned to me with a look of the most languishing tenderness, and, laying her hand gently upon my arm, said, "How should *you* like to be the master of such a residence?"

It was impossible to misunderstand her;—the look, the tone of voice, the question itself spoke volumes. I saw the power of presentation in her eyes; felt the soft pressure of induction in her hand; and was already, in the prospective dream of my fancy, her husband and a Rector! That chasm which, but a few seconds before, had seemed to yawn between Popery and the Thirty-nine Articles, was now, by a sudden bound of my imagination, cleared without difficulty, and, had not our conversation been providentially interrupted, I was on the point, I fear, of committing myself to some engagement of which, both as man and as Christian, I should have repented.

To the significance of the few broken sentences, which, in this short interval, fell from her, I should in no respect do justice by merely repeating them. Brief as they were,

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they conveyed summarily to me the important intelligence, that her brother, through whose recommendation the next incumbent was to be appointed, had placed the benefice at her sole disposal, as a marriage portion, with whomsoever she might find ready and worthy to share it with her;—that to her selection of me, as the happy occupant of both these blessings, my unlucky religion was the whole and sole obstacle, and that it depended but upon myself, should the Rector die to-morrow, to embrace Protestantism, and her, and Ballymudragget together! Though dazzled at first by this prospect, there needed, I must say, but a moment's reflection to restore my mind to the balance it had been on the point of losing. Putting the religious part of the question wholly out of consideration, I saw instantly what a mark of dishonour must for ever attach to my name, if, in the apparently hopeless state of the Catholic prospects, at that moment, I should desert the fallen faith of my fathers, and for so glaring a bribe.

From the task of explaining all this to the lady herself, the speedy recovery of the old Rector saved me;—but that unlucky scene in his shrubbery had given an entirely new character to our intercourse. The bewilderment into which she had seen me thrown by her few pregnant sentences was interpreted by her in the sense most favourable to her own wishes; and, without expressly returning to the subject, there was in all our intercourse, from that moment, an evident impression, on her part, of a sort of tender understanding between us,—an impression, which, partly from an habitual unwillingness to give pain, and partly, perhaps, from a little vanity in this my first conquest, I took no pains to remove.

In about two or three months after this period, the Emancipation Bill was carried; and of some of the effects which that great event produced upon my mind, the reader has been already told. During the time I was employed in pursuing my course of sacred studies, I found myself unable to afford an opportunity of paying a visit to home; and my intercourse, therefore, with my fair converter was, unluckily for me, confined solely to letters. I call this mode of communication, in my instance, unlucky, because the object addressed being out of sight and at a distance, my imagination was left free to invest

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her with all sorts of agreeable attributes, without having its pictures brought disturbingly to the test of reality, or its spells weakened—perhaps, broken—by the idol's voice and presence. The consequence was, that my fair correspondent still more and more brightened upon my imagination, the longer she continued absent from my sight; and in proportion as I forgot what she really was, I became but the more deeply enamoured of what I fancied her to be. How far the prospect of a rich rectory, with its tithes, great and small, might have had a share in producing and nurturing up this dream of sentiment, I must leave to others to conjecture. That such rectorial realities may have helped to give substance to the vision, I will not entirely deny; but still in imagination, the result was not the less tender and sentimental; and, could I have been well secured against the casualty of ever again seeing, or speaking with the lady of my love, there is no saying to what extraordinary lengths of time and ardour my passion might have persevered.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Miss **'s knowledge of the Fathers.—Translation of her Album from St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Gregory, St. Jerome.—Tender love-poem from St. Basil.

Though I had not yet mustered up sufficient courage to make Miss ** acquainted with the result of my searches after Protestantism, she knew, and, of course, duly appreciated the efforts I was making to render myself worthy of her hand. Not that this evangelical lady's learning extended so far back as to give her the least notion of the existence of any such persons as the Fathers;—her reading having chiefly lain in such New-Light paths as the Evangelical Magazine and Morning Watch, where authorities such as the Rev. E. Irving, and the reputed Elias, Mr. Louis Way,* would be sure to carry the day tri-

* The honour, which this pious gentleman has now for some time enjoyed, of being looked upon as no less a personage than Elias *incog.*

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umphantly against all the St. Justins and St. Ambroses of antiquity. She was, however, courteous enough to give me credit for having adopted the most effectual mode of Protestantizing myself; and only hinted, now and then, affectionately, that she thought me a long time about it.

By way of keeping her in good humour, as well with the Fathers as with myself, I occasionally translated into verse some of the many florid passages which occur in these writers, and laid them, in double homage, at once, of poetry and piety, at her feet. With these half tender, half saintly strains, the lady was, as may be supposed, inexpressibly delighted. To the task of copying them out, her most delicate crow-quills were devoted; and it was the first time, I dare swear, in the annals of gallantry, that the names of St. Basil, St. Gregory, and St. Jerome were fated to shine forth in the pages of a morocco-covered Album.

The pathetic remonstrance addressed by St. Basil to a Fallen Virgin, (of which Fénélon has said, "On ne peut vien voir de plus éloquent,") abounds with passages to which, though in the form of prose, such poetry as the following does but inadequate justice.

ST. BASIL TO A FALLEN VIRGIN.

Remember now that virgin choir *
Who loved thee, lost one, as thou art,

was attributed also, I find, by some sectaries of the last century, to a devout Captain of dragoons, whom they singled out, I know not why, for the same mysterious distinction. In a similar manner, the Seekers, by whom St. John, the Apostle, is expected back again upon earth, gave out, some time ago, that he was actually arrived and living retired in the County of Suffolk. See *Honori Raggi de Statu Ecclesiæ Britannicæ.*

* In a note on the words, "*Ad* Christi contendit altaria," in the Treatise of St. Ambrose De Mysteriis, there is a description given, by the Benedictine Editor, of some of the forms usual, in the time of that Father, on the admission of the young neophytes into the sanctuary, to receive the sacrament. In describing their procession from the baptistery to the altar, bearing each a lighted taper in his hand, as is the manner of the Catholic Church, to this day, he makes mention also of the young maidens who had lately been professed and who likewise formed a part of this innocent train:—Si quæ puellæ virginitatem in Paschatio festo essent professæ, ipsæ etiam inter hos innocentes greges deducebantur."

Those who have been taught to consider Nuns as among the creations of modern Popery, will see, from all this, that such dedication of young virgins to God was customary in the high and palmy age of the

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Before the world's profane desire
  Had warm'd thine eye and chill'd thy heart.

Recall their looks, so brightly calm,
  Around the lighted shrine at even,*
When, mingling in the vesper psalm,
  Thy spirit seem'd to sigh for heav'n.

Remember, too, the tranquil sleep,
  That o'er thy lonely pillow stole,
While thou hast pray'd that God would keep
  From every harm thy virgin soul.

Where is it now—that innocent
  And happy time, where is it gone?
These light repasts, where young Content
  And Temperance stood smiling on;

The maiden step, the seemly dress,
  In which thou went'st along, so meek,
The blush, that, at a look, or less,
  Came o'er the paleness of thy cheek;

Alas! alas! that paleness too,†
  That bloodless purity of brow,
More touching than the rosiest hue
  On Beauty's cheek—where is it now?

From one of the Homilies of St. Chrysostom, who, it is known, particularly distinguished himself by his severe strictures on the gay dresses of the Constantinopolitan ladies,‡ the following specimen of his style of rebuke, on such subjects, is selected:—

Christian Church. Even the runaway nun whom Luther married might have found some precedent for her *escapade* in those good old times, as we read, in one of St. Jerome's Epistles (xciii.) of an attempt to carry off a nun from a convent.

* St. Basil represents the virgins as dancing round the altar:—*μνησθητι ταυτων και αγγελικης περι τον θεον μετ' εκεινων χορειας.* Such sacred dances, in imitation of those of the Hebrews, were permitted, on great festivals, among the early Christians, and the Bishops and dignified Clergy (as we are told by Scaliger) used to join in them.

† My young friend's translation here falls short, I must say, of the beauty of the original:—*Ωχροτης και πασης ευχροιας χαριεστερον επιλαμπουσα.*

‡ One of the persecutions raised against him was headed, we are told, by three widows, who could not forgive (says Gibbon) a preacher who reproached their affectation of concealing, by the ornaments of dress, their age and ugliness."

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Why come ye to the place of prayer,
With jewels in your braided hair?
And wherefore is the House of God
By glittering feet profanely trod,
As if, vain things, ye came to keep
Some festival, and not to weep?
Oh! prostrate weep before that Lord
  Of earth and heaven, of life and death,
Who blights the fairest with a word,
  And blights the mightiest with a breath!

Go—'tis not thus in proud array
Such sinful souls should dare to pray.*
Vainly to anger'd Heaven ye raise
Luxurious hands where diamonds blaze;
And she who comes in 'broider'd veil
To weep her frailty, *still* is frail.

The same Homily also furnished me with rather a curious passage, showing how just were this Saint's notions of female beauty, and how independent of the aid of ornament was its natural power, in his eyes.

"Behold," thou say'st, "my gown is plain,
  My sandals are of texture rude;
Is this like one whose heart is vain?
  Like one who dresses to be woo'd?"

Deceive not thus, young maid, thy heart,†
  For far more oft in simple gown
Doth Beauty play the tempter's part,
  Than in brocades of rich renown;

And homeliest garb hath oft been found,
  When typed and moulded to the shape,‡
To deal such shafts of mischief round
  As wisest men can scarce escape.

* Τι κοσμεις σαυτην; ουκ εστιν ταυτα ικετευουσης τα σχηματα . . . . . ου γαρ χρυσοφορειν την δακρυουσαν δει.—*Homil.* 8, *in* 1 *Ep. ad Tim.*

† Μη απατα σαυτην' ενεστιν, οπερ εφην, δια τουτων μειζονως καλλωπιζεσθαι.

‡ Προσπεπλασμενων τω σωματι και εκτετυπωμενων. No words could express more knowingly the perfection of a well fitted gown.

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Poetical as was, in general, the prose style of the greater number of the Fathers, St. Gregory of Nazianzum was, I believe, the only one among those of the four first centuries, who wrote actual Poems; and of these I extracted and translated a considerable portion for the album of my fair friend. The following, however,* in which the Saint Poet somewhat unconsciously requires, that both the eyes and lips of his young virgins should be motionless, is the only specimen from his works with which I shall here trouble the reader.

Let not those eyes, whose light forbids
All love unholy, ever learn to stray,
But safe within thy snowy lids
Like timid virgins in their chambers, stay,†
Keeping their brightness to themselves all day.

Let not those lips by man be won
To breathe a thought that warms thy guileless breast,
But, like May-buds that fear the sun,
Shut up in rosy silence, ever rest,—
Silence, that speaks the maiden's sweet thoughts best.

From a letter of St. Jerome, in praise of the young widow, Blesilla,—one of those patterns of female holiness, those gems of sanctity, who formed what Prudentius calls "the necklace of the Church,"—the following passage is paraphrased:*

* From his Ὑποθηκαι Παρθενοις, or Precepts to Virgins.

† There is a pun here rather implied than expressed, which the following passage from St. Chrysostom will explain:—Κορη προσαγορευεται ο οφθαλμος, ινα ως εκεινη υπο δυω βλεφαρων 'ως εν τινι κουβουκλειω αποκεκλειται, ουτω και η παρθενος διαμεινη.—*Homil.* 77, *de Pœnitent.* "The eye is called κορη (a young girl,) in order that, as the former is curtained up by two eyelids, as in a bedchamber, even so may the maiden herself remain."

* The whole passage is so much more eloquent and vigorous in the original, that I must, in justice, give it here:—"Dum spiritus nos reget artus, dum vitæ hujus fruimur commeatu, spondeo, promitto, polliceor, illam mea resonabit lingua, illi mei dedicabantur labores, illi sudabit ingenium. Nulla erit pagina, quæ non Blesillam resonet; quocunque sermonis nostri monumenta pervenerint, illa cum meis opusculis peregrinabitur. Hanc meâ mente defixam legent virgines, viduæ, monachi, sacerdotes, et breve vitæ spatium æternâ memoriâ compensabit . . . . . nunquam in meis moritura est libris."

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She sleeps among the pure and blest,
  But here, upon her tomb, I swear,
That, while a spirit thrills this breast,
  Her worth shall be remember'd there.

My tongue shall never hope to charm,
  Unless it breathes Blesilla's name;
My fancy ne'er shall shine so warm,
  As when it lights Blesilla's fame.

On her, where'er my pages fly,
  My pages still shall life confer,
And every wise and brilliant eye
  That studies me shall weep for her;

For her the widow's tears shall fall,
  In sympathy of wedded love;
And her shall holy maidens call
  The brightest of their saints above.

Throughout all time, the priest, the sage,
  The cloister'd nun, the hermit hoary,
Shall read, and reading bless the page
  That wafts Blesilla's name to glory.

One more versified extract from a Treatise of St. Basil, and I shall then have done with Miss * *'s saintly Album. So warm a tribute to the beauties and allurements of woman, from a pen so grave as that of the eloquent Bishop of Cæsarea, may well be found startling; and the translation, I must say, in point of ardour, does but faint justice to the original. In fairness, however, it should be premised, that the authenticity of the work from which this extract is taken has been questioned, and that, among others, the Saint's learned biographer, Hermant, doubts its genuineness.

There shines an all-pervading grace,
  A charm, diffused through every part
Of perfect woman's form and face,
  That steals, like light, into man's heart.

Her look is to his eyes a beam
  Of loveliness that never sets;
Her voice is to his ear a dream
  Of melody it ne'er forgets;

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Alike in motion or repose,
  Awake or slumbering, sure to win,
Her form, a vase transparent, shows
  The spirit's light enshrined within.

Nor charming only when she talks,*
  Her very silence speaks and shines;
Love gilds her pathway when she walks,
  And lights her couch when she reclines.

Let her, in short, do what she will,
  'Tis something for which man must woo her;
So powerful is that magnet still
  Which draws all souls and senses to her.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Difficulties of my present position.—Lord Farnham's Protestants.—Ballinasloe Christians.—Pious letter from Miss * *.—Suggests that I should go to Germany.—Resolution to take her advice.

The position in which I now found myself was not a little embarrassing. By this unlucky correspondence, in which I had been, for some months, engaged, and which —being, on my side a mere indulgence of fancy, at the least possible cost of reality or feeling,—might have gone on thus, under the fostering influence of absence, for ever. I had not only deluded my mature friend, Miss * *, into the fond certainty that I was in love with her, but had even, by dint of fine sentences, which, "like chariot-wheels, kindled as they ran," brought myself, in some slight degree, to indulge in the same delusion. While between the lady and me, too, this ideal approximation was taking

* Και ου λαλουσα γυνη μονον και ορωσα, αλλα και καθημενη πως και βαδιζουσα, δια την ενουσαν κατα του αρρενος αυτης φυσικην δυνατειαν, ως σιδηρος, φημι, πορρωθεν μαγνητις, τουτο προς εαυτην μαγγανευει.—*De vera Virginitate.*

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place, that unlucky Protestantism which was to form the indispensable basis of our union, seemed farther off from me than ever; and had a vacancy occurred in the Rectory of Ballymudragget, at this moment, the unprovided state in which it would have found me, in the important article of religion, would have been perplexing in the extreme.

In addition to the repugnance I could not but feel to the adoption of a new creed, from the conviction forced upon me, at every step of my inquiries upon the subject, that in the Catholic Church alone was to be found genuine Christianity, there had been also a ridicule, at this time, brought upon all conversions to Protestantism, by the utter failure of a late saintly farce, called the Second Irish Reformation, to which, in no possible circumstances, could I have had the courage to expose myself. The wretched absurdity of that last effort of Protestant Ascendency,—the parade made about a few scores of hungry Papists, who consented to become Protestants on the same terms on which Mungo consents to tell truth, "What you give me, Massa?"—and, finally, the unceremonious speed with which all these Ballinasloe Christians* relapsed, laughing in their sleeves, into Popery and Idolatry,—the whole of this grave farce will long be remembered, to the signalization of my Lord Farnham's wisdom, and the no less honour and glory of the Reverend wise-acres of the British Critic, who sounded the ram's-horns of triumph in his pious Lordship's rear.

To the fear of, by *any* chance, being mistaken for one of Lord Farnham's Protestants, I was myself, perhaps, more peculiarly alive, from a consciousness, but too well founded, alas! that, between the poor wretches who exchanged their faith for "the Friday's bacon," and myself, who was about to barter it for the rich rectory of Ballymudragget, the *amount* of the bribe constituted the whole

* They who are amused with such foolery cannot do better than turn to the numbers of the British Critic for that period (towards the latter end of 1827,) where they may trace the whole ludicrous course of this New Light mummery from the first triumphant announcements of the advance of "the Reformation" through the benighted regions of Ballinasloe, Loughrea and Ahascrah, till, "coming in contact," as these gentlemen express it, "with the darkness of the land in Sligo," its evangelical light began to wax fainter and fainter, and at last, in the aptly-named district of Kilmummery, expired!

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and sole difference. Feeling, however, that I was bound, in courtesy, to communicate to my fair correspondent some little insight into the real state of my mind, on the subject, I ventured to intimate to her, in one of my letters, that the impression left on my mind by the perusal of the Fathers was, I grieved to say, not quite so favourable to the cause of Protestantism as, in her zeal for my speedy conversion, she might desire; and that a yet farther course of time and study would be requisite, before those scruples which I entertained, as to the adoption of a new faith, could be removed.

The lady's answer to this was in her accustomed textuary style. After declaring pathetically that she had, as I could well conceive, "*wearied* the Lord with her words," (Malachi, ii. 17,) in my behalf, and assuring me of her unceasing anxiety, night and day, to pluck that "dear firebrand" (as she tenderly and scripturally called my soul) out of the fire, she proceeded to say that, from the very first, she had felt serious apprehensions that in seeking "the word of the Holy One" (Isa. v. 24) among the Fathers, I was but trying to "gather grapes of thorns, and figs of thistles" (Matt. vii. 16.) The only acquaintance she herself had ever formed among the Fathers was at the table, as she reminded me, of my own family, where it had been her fortune, on more than one occasion, to meet the Reverend Father O'Toole and Father M'Loughlin; and the less, in her opinion, that was said of *such* Fathers of the Church, the better.

After a little more of this display of learning, respecting the Fathers, Miss * * continued to say that, were she to speak her own desire, on the subject, it would be, that I should, for a time, "separate from that filthiness of the heathen" (Ezra, vi. 21) with which my family connexions would, as long as I tarried in the land, be sure to compass me; and sorely as it would afflict her, even for a brief space, to lose me, yet so anxious was she that "the soul of her turtle (meaning *me*) should not be delivered unto the wicked" (Psalm lxxiv. 19)—so strong was her desire to "cause mine iniquity to pass from me and clothe me with a change of raiment" (Zech. iii. 4,) that until the arrival of that happy moment when we were to "cleave one to another" (Daniel, ii. 43,) she counselled earnestly that I should betake myself unto some "land of uprightness"

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(Psalm cxliii. 10)—even the land of Luther, or of the immortal Calvin,—and there, out of the reach of the "Mother of Harlots" (Rev. xvii. 5) continue to "nourish myself up in the words of faith and of good doctrine" (1 Tim. iv. 6,) so as to become worthy, at last, of that "fat portion" (Hab. i. 16) which was in store for me, and which should be "rendered double unto me, as unto the prisoners of hope" (Zech. x. 12,)—namely, herself and Ballymudragget.

In a postscript to this piece of scriptural patch-work, the fair writer added that, in the event of my going abroad, she meant to commission me to procure for her a copy of that edifying book, Luther's Table Talk;* and would, at the same time, recommend to me, for my own particular edification, a pious foreign work, called Pastor Fido,† written by one Guarini, and accounted, as she understood, one of the best possible manuals for the instruction of young Protestant divines in those duties which, as faithful Pastors, they were to perform towards their flocks.

Whatever may be thought of this last learned suggestion, the project hinted to me by my fair converter of a visit to the land of Luther,—the birth-place of the Reformation,—the boasted well-spring of the thousand and one streams of Protestantism,—flashed like a ray of new-born light across my fancy, "To Germany!—yes, to Germany will I assuredly go," exclaimed I, once more striding Protestantly through my two-pair-stair chamber, and marvelling that so compendious a mode of attaining my object had never before occurred to me. In the excitement of the vague hope that now opened upon me, added to the exhilarating prospect of foreign travel and

* This "edifying book" of Luther contains the conversations of the jovial Reformer over his cups, as reported by Rebenstok, one of his most attached disciples, and published, after his death, with cruel kindness by his friends. Great efforts were, of course, made to discredit the authenticity of this work,—but without success. The zealous Dutch divine, Voet, allowed its genuineness, and even the Reformer's partial historian, Seckendorf, could do no more than lament the imprudence of the friends who published it. The ribaldry, indeed, with which this book, in its original state, abounded, might well awaken, in those who were solicitous about the Reformer's fame, deep regret at its publication.

† In this mistake respecting the Pastor Fido the lady was not singular; for, already had the poet Guarini, from the same misapprehension, been placed in the rank of ecclesiastical writers by Aubert le Mire.—*See Querelles Litteraires, Tom. i.*

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adventure, the whole course of my late studies was, at once, lost sight of and forgotten. Fathers, Councils, Primitive Church, all receded into the back ground, and already did I begin, in the true pride of a Reformed spirit, to persuade myself that every thing which had passed during the first fifteen hundred years of Christianity was but an idle dream, and that not till the *year* of our Lord 1530* did the *Gospel* of our Lord come purely and evangelically into operation.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Apostolic antiquity of the Catholic doctrines allowed by Protestants themselves.—Proofs:—from the writings of the Reformers, Luther, Melancthon, &c.—from later Protestants, Casaubon, Scaliger, &c.—from Socinus and Gibbon.

In the fit of delirium which, at the close of the preceding chapter, I have described, I was, in fact, but jumping to a conclusion into which all thinking Protestants who have examined fairly into the history of primitive Christianity, and yet are satisfied with their own religion, must deliberately have settled. By their manual, the Book of Homilies, they are informed that, more than eight hundred years previously to the Reformation, the whole of Christendom lay drowned in all the darkness of Popery; and a fair inquiry into the writers of the early Church must have convinced them that the same religion which existed during the eight hundred years specified in the Homilies had also flourished through all the preceding centuries, up to the first birth-hour of the Church. They have, therefore, no other alternative left them than the conclusion to which, in my delirium, I came,—that, until the year of our Lord 1530, the Gospel of our Lord had

* The year in which the Augsburg Confession of Faith was drawn up by Luther and Melancthon.

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never been truly promulgated; and that, accordingly, his Church, that only visible Church of Christ on earth, to which God himself so solemnly declared, "Lo, I am with you alway to the end of time," had yet been suffered by him, for a space of more than fifteen hundred years, to lie drowned as the Homily tells us, in "abominable idolatry,"—the vice "most detested of God and most damnable to man!"

The position, indeed, which it has been my chief aim to establish in these pages,—namely, that the doctrines and observances taught by the Catholics of the first ages were the same as those professed and practised by the Catholics of the present,—has long, I find, by all dispassionate inquirers, even among Protestants themselves, been virtually, and, in most instances, expressly acknowledged; and had this important admission been somewhat earlier known to me, it might have spared both my readers and myself the infliction of some heavy reading.

It is true, that at the period of the Reformation, and for some time after, when it was naturally an object with those who originated such violent changes to invest them, as far as they could, with some semblance of authority, both the ingenuity and the effrontery of the innovators were exerted to press the sanction of the ancient Fathers into the service of their new enterprise. But the avowals of some of the most eminent among the Reformers themselves showed how conscious they were of the hollowness of their pretensions to such authority. The deep concern with which the considerate and conscientious Melancthon viewed each successive deviation from the ancient standard of the Faith is frequently and with much earnestness expressed in some of his letters. Thus, in a letter cited by Hospinian, he says—"It is not safe thus to depart from the general opinion of the ancient Church;"* and, in another place, "it is, in my judgment, great rashness thus to spread abroad doctrines without consulting the Primitive Church."†

From Luther's own confessions, it is well known how long and anxiously he struggled to get over the testi-

* "Neque verò tutum est à communi sententiâ veteris Ecclesiæ discedere."

† "Meo quidem judicio magna est temeritas dogmata serere inconsultâ Ecclesiâ veteri."

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monies, in favour of the Real Presence, which he found both in the text of Scripture and in the writings of the Fathers; and with what exceeding reluctance he, at last, retained a doctrine which it would have been so decidedly, as he felt, for the interests of his cause to repudiate. In a letter to his followers at Strasbourg, he declares the pleasure which it would afford him, could they suggest to his mind some good grounds for denying the Real Presence, as nothing could be of more service to him in his designs against the Papacy.*

So admitted is this struggle of Luther's conscience, upon the subject of the Eucharist, that Bayle deduces from it an ingenious argument in favour of toleration, on the ground that the most erroneous opinions may, as in this case, be the result of the most sincere and anxious search after truth. "Who does not know," says Bayle, "that Luther was passionately desirous not to believe in the Real Presence, persuading himself that so long as he should continue in that belief, he would thereby be deprived of one great advantage towards the object he had in view of destroying Popery. His wishes, however, though founded upon what he believed to be strongly his interest, were unavailing. He was not able, though endeavouring with all his might, to discover that figurative sense which to us is so visible, in the words of Christ, "This is my body."†

With little less throes of conscience did another Reformer, Œcolampadius, succeed in surmounting the testimonies of the ancient Fathers, on the same point; nor was it till he had made up his mind to renounce their authority altogether,—"semotâ hominum auctoritate,"‡—that he could bring himself to adopt the Sacramentarian doctrine.

Were we to collect, indeed, the different Catholic doctrines of which some one or other of the Reformers themselves acknowledged the antiquity, we should find almost the whole of their own new system of belief surrendered by them in detail. Thus the antiquity of the doctrine of a Corporal Presence was maintained by Luther against

* *Epist. ad Argentin.*
† *Supplement du Commentaire Philosophique, Œuvres,* Tom. 2.
‡ Lavater.

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Calvin and Zwingli;* and Melancthon even expressed himself respecting that mystery "in the very strongest terms (says Moshiem's Commentator) that the Roman Catholics use to express the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation; adopting those remarkable words of Theophylact, 'the bread was not a figure only, but was truly changed into flesh.'"

The Centuriators of Magdeburgh admit, reluctantly and angrily, the antiquity of the Sacrificial Offering. Prayers for the Dead were acknowledged by Calvin to have been an ancient and pious usage:† and the Lutherans not only conceded this point in the Defence of the Confession of Augsburg, but professed their dissent, in the same document, from the opinion of the heretic Aerius, who maintained, in the fourth century, that Prayers for the Dead were useless.

While Calvin rejected this usage, which he yet allowed to be of high antiquity, he, on the other hand, confessed, or rather boasted, that his system of Election and Grace was wholly unknown to all the Fathers of the four first centuries;‡ and Melancthon, with all his reverence for the authority of the early Church, could yet,—hurried away, like the rest, by a factious spirit of Reform,—adopt new-fangled doctrines such as that of Imputed Justice, wholly unknown, as he himself allowed, to the ancient Christians.§

By Luther the use of Images and of the sign of the Cross,‖ as well as Confession and the Sacrament of Abso-

* This did not, of course, escape the observation of some among their own followers. For instance, Dudith (who is said to have ended his own course in Socinianism) thus asks of Beza, in one of his letters to him, "On what dogma do those who have declared war against the Pope agree among themselves? If you take the trouble to look over all the articles, from the first to the last, you will not find one that is not admitted by some, and condemned by others."

† Vetustis ecclesiæ scriptoribus pium esse visum suffragari pro Mortuis.

‡ *Instit. Lib.* 2. c. 2.—By Gomarus and other such followers of Calvin it is even admitted that the doctrines of their master, as explained by them, are not to be found in the Gospel.

§ See one of his Letters, (*Lib.* 3. *Ep.* 126.) in which he acknowledges that he could find nothing like this doctrine among the Fathers.

‖ "The Father of the Reformation, Luther, (says De Starck) wrote, that, on getting out of bed in the morning, one ought to sign oneself with the Holy Cross."

A learned and famous Lutheran, Gerhard, has even so far racked his wits in defence of this sign, as to produce the following strained

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lution were retained; while Melancthon, Bucer, and other high authorities of the Reformation, acknowledged the antiquity and importance of the Supremacy of the Roman See. The proofs of this latter concession are numerous. Thus Melancthon says:—"There is no dispute on the superiority of the Pope, and the authority of bishops; the Pope, as well as they, may keep this authority."—Again, "The monarchy of the Pope would also contribute much to preserve the unity of doctrine among different nations; if other points could be settled, we should soon agree respecting the supremacy of the Pope.* Bucer, too, who was invited to England by Cranmer, to assist in forming the Anglican Church, writes thus strongly on the same point:—"We confess that, in the opinion of the ancient Fathers, the Roman Church did hold the Primacy, having the Chair of Peter, and that her bishops have been accounted his successors."† But the most striking testimony on this point, because wrung from him by the confusion he saw around him, is that of the Reformer Capito:—"The authority of the clergy (he says, in a letter to Farel) is entirely abolished. All is lost,—all is going to ruin. . . . . God now makes me feel what it is to be a Pastor, and what mischief we have

authority for its use:—"The patriarch Jacob, laying his hands upon his grandsons, Ephraim and Manasseh, cross-wise, formed, as it were, a Cross, and so admonished them concerning the cross of Christ."—*Loci Theolog. T.* 4. *de Baptism.*

* *Resp. ad Bel.*—This opinion of Melancthon is thus referred to by the illustrious Grotius, who was himself a strong advocate for the Primacy of the Roman See, as the only means of preserving unity in the general Church of Christ. "Ideo optat (Grotius) ut ea divulsio quæ evenit, et causæ divulsionis tollantur. Inter eas causas non est Primatus Episcopi Romani, secundum Canones, fatente Melancthone, qui eum Primatum etiam necessarium putat ad retinendam unitatem." With Grotius, too, may be associated, as another authority in favour of the Primacy of Rome, the no less illustrious name of the philosopher Leibnitz. See his *Systema Theologicum.*

In a yet more recent Protestant writer than any here referred to,—the Baron Senkenberg, Professor of Law in the Universities of Gottengen and Giesen, and Aulic Counsellor, &c., under the Emperor Francis I.—we find the following strong opinion on the same subject:—"It is right that there should be a system of government among Christians, and it is right that there should be a head to preside over it; and none else can be more qualified for this office than the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the representative of the Blessed Peter through an uninterrupted succession." *Method. Jurisprud.* 4, *de libertate Ecclesiæ German.*

† *Prop. ad Conc.*

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done to the Church by the rash judgment, the inconsiderate vehemence with which we rejected the Pope."*

At a somewhat later period, we find the learned Protestant, Casaubon, lamenting over those deviations from the ancient faith into which the violence of the Reformation was, he saw, betraying its followers. In writing to his friend Uittembogardt, who had, in a conference held between them, endeavoured to relieve his mind from some apprehensions on this head, he says:—"Why should I conceal from you that this so great departure from the faith of the ancient Church not a little disturbs me?"†—and, in the same letter, after remarking that, on the subject of the Sacraments, Luther differed from the ancients, Zuinglius from Luther, Calvin from both, and others from Calvin, he adds, "If we go on in this way, what will at last be the end of it?"‡ By Scaliger, too, another eminent scholar, and a mature convert to Protestantism, it is, without reserve, admitted that, on the important subject of the Lord's Supper, we should in vain endeavour to prove the Reformed Doctrine from the Fathers.§

While these and a number of other such enlightened Protestants have thus candidly acknowledged,—what, indeed, only the party-spirit of sectarianism could deny, that the weight of ancient authority is all on the side of the Church of Rome, the Socinians, who, from being independent of such authority themselves, could the better, of course, afford to be candid on the subject, have in general been found to agree in the same important admission. In the well-known controversy respecting the Eucharist between Smalcius and Franzius, the Racovian pastor gave up freely to his Lutheran antagonist all the Fathers of the fourth century, as stanch Transubstantiationists. And Socinus himself declared that, if the Fathers are to be made umpires between the disputants, the Church of Rome cannot fail to win an easy triumph.

It is by those, indeed, who are not in communion with

* *Ep. ad Farel. Inter Ep. Calv.*

† Mene quid dissimulem hæc tanta diversitas à fide veteris Ecclesiæ non parum turbat?

‡ Si sic pergimus, quis tandem erit exitus?

§ Non est quod conemur ex Patribus hunc articulem demonstrare de Cœnâ. *Scaligerana.*

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either of the contending parties, that the question between them has the best chance of being disinterestedly decided; and, on this principle, the testimony of Gibbon may be thrown into the same scale with that of Sicinus, —the infidel, no less than the heresiarch, having professed his inability "to withstand the weight of historical evidence, that, within the first four or five centuries of Christianity, most of the leading doctrines of Popery were already introduced, in theory and practice."*

CHAPTER XXXV.

French Calvinists.—The Fathers held in contempt by the English Calvinists.—Policy of the Church of England Divines.—Bishop Jewel. —Dr. Waterland.

Some strenuous efforts were, it is known, made by the French Calvinist, Claude, to prove that, on the subject of the Eucharist, the Fathers of the first ages were in perfect accordance with the doctrine of the Reformed Church.† Far the greater number, however, of Calvinists, both of France and England, held the authority of these venerable teachers in the most sovereign contempt.‡ "Rely-

* *Posthumous Memoirs.*

† The utter failure, notwithstanding his learning and ability, of the French controvertist, Claude,—particularly in his unlucky appeal to the Eastern Churches against the doctrine of transubstantiation,—left a clear field, on this subject, to M. Arnaud and his brother champions.

‡ One of the sources of Calvin's contempt for the Fathers is to be found, perhaps, in his ignorance of them:—"Calvin (says Longerue) avoit lu S. Augustin et S. Thomas; mais il n'avoit pas lu les autres Pères."

In a satire against the Calvinists, by Bishop Womack, called "The Examination of Tilenus," the propensity of that sect to depreciate the Fathers is thus ridiculed from the lips of one of the Examiners:—"The man hath a competent measure of your ordinary, unsanctified learning. But you may see he hath studied the Ancient Fathers, more than our modern divines, such as Mr. Calvin and Mr. Perkins. And, alas! they [the Ancient Fathers] threw away their enjoyments,—and their lives, too, some of them,—for they knew not what. They understood little or nothing of the Divine Decrees, or the power of grace and godliness: this great light was reserved for the honour of after-ages."

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ing," says the Protestant Casaubon, "on the authority and reputation of one individual (Calvin) who was truly a very great man, though not free from liability to error, these persons cannot endure the bare mention of the names of those Holy Fathers whose most felicitous services the immortal God was pleased formerly to employ: . . . . . but whom these writers wish to represent as half heathens, unskilled in the Scriptures, silly, foolish, stupid and impious persons. It is on this account they attack the errors of the Papists in such a manner *as very frequently to inflict, through their sides, a mortal wound on the ancient Church.*"*

The same contempt for the early Fathers, as authorities in doctrine, prevailed, at the same period, among the high Calvinistic party in England; and the following passage from a work of the famous Archbishop Bancroft, (his "Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline,") will show the lengths to which this feeling of slight towards the Church's Ancients was carried:—"In a certain college in Cambridge when it happeneth that, in their disputations, the authority either of St. Augustine, or of St. Ambrose, or of St. Jerome, or of any other of the ancient Fathers, nay, the whole consent of them all together is alleged; it is rejected with very great disdain; as, 'What tell you me of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, or of the rest? I regard them not a rush.'"

While thus the Calvinists of England, in the true spirit of their master, made light of and even disdained the authority of the Fathers, a far different course of policy led the High-Church Divines, not only to profess the highest feelings of reverence for those writers, but to endeavour to extort, by all means, from their pages some sanction for their own Protestant doctrines. With that sort of rash vapouring which was to be expected from the craven spirit he had already displayed, Bishop Jewel went so far as to challenge publicly, all the Catholics in the world to produce a single clear testimony from the writings of the Fathers in support of any of those tenets on which the Protestants differed from them.† But the

* Letter to Daniel Heinsius, 1610.

† The passage of the Paul's Cross sermon in which this rash challenge is enounced, may be considered, in one respect, valuable, inasmuch as it acknowledges most fully the authority of that concurrent

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only effect of this absurd vaunt was, as the Bishop's biographer, Humphrey, confesses, to "give scope to the Papists," and do injury to the cause it was meant to benefit.

For a long period, however, did this effort, on the part of the Church of England divines, to enlist antiquity on the side of their schism, continue, with more or less zeal, to be carried on; and upon all occasions do we find them appealing, with the utmost reverence, to the Fathers,—though having, at the same time, the avowal of the ever candid Chillingworth before their eyes, that it was the opposition which he himself remarked between the doctrines of the Fathers and those of Protestantism that formed one of his leading motives for embracing the Romish faith; or, as he himself states his reason, "*Because the doctrine of the Church of Rome is conformable, and the doctrine of Protestants contrary to the doctrine of the Fathers, by the confession of Protestants themselves.*"

It has been thought by some that this professed deference of the divines of that period for the authority of writers whose every page breathes rebuke to Protestantism, is to be accounted for by the evident leaning towards Popery, which the reigns of the two first Stuarts betrayed; and there is no doubt that this circumstance, combined with the aid derived from the testimony of the Fathers, in those contests respecting Church government in which they were engaged with the Puritans, had considerable share in moving the High-Church divines to this otherwise so anomalous a coalition. But there was, also, another cause, of at least equal importance, to which this feature in the policy of the Church of England is to be assigned.

I have before remarked that those Fathers who upheld most strenuously the doctrine of Transubstantiation, (as well as every other doctrine classed under the head of Popish errors,) were also those who most distinguished themselves by maintaining the dogma of the Trinity in its

Rule of Faith,—concurrent with, and illustrative of the written Word of God,—which the Catholics derive from their old Doctors and Councils, and from the traditions and examples of the early days of their Church. Thus begins the challenge of the Bishop:—"If any man alive were able to prove any of these articles, by any one clear or plain clause or sentence, either of the Scriptures or of the old Doctors, or of any old General Council, or by any example of the Primitive Church," &c. &c.

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purest, most amply developed, and "bright, consummate" form. To secure the aid of such witnesses, at a time when the spirit of Anti-Trinitarianism was abroad, in defence of a mystery, which the Reformation itself had spared, but which seemed in danger of falling before some of its progeny, was thought to be an acquisition well worth some sacrifice of sincerity; and, for the sake of profiting thus by the testimony of the Fathers on one of the few doctrines common to both parties, the Protestant divines either wilfully shut their eyes to the wide diversity, on other points, between them, or else endeavoured to evade these differences by glosses and explanations, of whose utter futility and deceptiveness it is impossible that they should not themselves have been aware.

Of this very intelligible course of policy we find a striking exemplification in the labours of one of the most eminent of these divines, Dr. Waterland. Hence was it, that, in his exceeding zeal for the triumph of Trinitarianism, he was induced to uphold, with so high a hand, the authority of the Fathers,—denominating the Three first centuries "the golden age of the Church," and even inclining, for the honour and glory of his idol, Athanasius, to extend that laudatory distinction so far down as the Fourth.* Hence, rather than risk the consequences of the impolitic admission that allies so useful to the cause of orthodoxy, on *one* great point of Christianity, were, on every other, no better than unreformed Papists, he thought himself bound to endeavour to prove that, on the equally vital doctrine of the Eucharist, the opinions held by these ancient teachers were no less in accordance with those maintained by the divines of the Established Church.

The work, in which the learned Doctor has attempted this task I have already had occasion to refer to, and shall here only add that, for vague and forced interpretation, for unavailing struggles against the stream of testimony, and the betrayal of conscious weakness under an assumed aspect of strength, it is, considering the acknowledged talents and erudition of the writer, unexampled, perhaps, in the whole annals of theological controversy.

* Whiston, on the other hand, whose controversial interest drew him in quite an opposite direction, makes the power of performing miracles stop at Athanasius, giving, as his reason, that "the forgeries of Athanasius, by their prevalence in the Church, provoked God to withdraw his miraculous powers!"

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

Pretended reverence of the English divines for the Fathers unmasked.—Dr. Whitby's attack on the Fathers: followed by Middleton.—Early Christians proved by Middleton to have been Papists.—Reflections.—Departure for Hamburgh.

It was not possible that such a system of evasion and casuistry as I have, in the last chapter, described should be carried on much longer; and the first great breach made in it was by the honest, however mistaken, Dr. Whitby, in his work "concerning the interpretation of Scripture after the manner of the Fathers." In this Dissertation, which the translator of Mosheim* represents as "the forerunner of the many remarkable attempts that were afterwards made *to deliver the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, from* the *restraints of human authority*," the evidence of the Fathers on points of faith, is set aside with a degree of unceremonious freedom, which even the advocate for the right of private judgment, just cited, allows to have been unwise and unsafe.

But, rash as it was, this assault by Whitby was but the forerunner of outbreaks still rasher. The same Church which had produced a Jewel and a Waterland was sure, in the natural course of reaction, to produce also a Middleton. Impatient of such hollow pretensions

* The usual consequences of such bold speculations were, indeed, exemplified in the case of Whitby himself, who, in a posthumous work entitled, "the Last Thoughts of Dr. Whitby," thus expresses himself respecting the Trinity:—"An exact scrutiny into things doth often produce conviction that those things which we once judged to be right were, after a more diligent inquiry into the truth, found to be wrong; and truly I am not ashamed to say, this is my case. For when I wrote my Commentaries on the New Testament, I went on (too hastily, I own) in the common beaten road of other reputed orthodox divines, conceiving that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in one complex notion, were one and the same God, by virtue of the same individual essence communicated from the Father. This confused notion, I am now fully convinced, by the arguments I have offered here, and in the second part of my reply to Dr. Waterland, to be a thing impossible and full of gross absurdities and contradictions.'

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to the sanction of antiquity, nor much scrupling, in his attacks upon what he deemed to be Superstition, how far Religion herself might be endangered by the onset, this divine brushed away boldly all that film of mock reverence which his brethren had been so long weaving round the memory of the Fathers, and at once held up these ancient teachers not only as Papists, in doctrine, but, (his main object being, at all risks, to villify Roman Catholicism,*) as Papists of the most superstitious and drivelling description.

In utter defiance, too, of the deductions which might be drawn from such a theory, Middleton hesitated not to reverse the ordinary view of the subject, and by asserting the first ages of the Church to have been the *least* pure, risked, heedless of all consequences,† the startling conclusion, that the fountain of the Christian's faith was most corrupt near its source. In this reckless paradox, however, was conveyed an undesigned tribute to the antiquity of the Catholic Church; since identifying, as he did, all superstition and error with Popery, it is plain that, in pronouncing the first ages of Christianity to have been the *least* pure, he had no other meaning in his mind than that they were the *most* Popish.

* This object he by no means scruples to avow. "Whereas Popish Christianity (he says) which possesses much the largest share of the Christian world *would be undone at once* if the authority of the Primitive Fathers and primitive miracles should be rejected in common by all Christians."—*Remarks on Observations*, &c. Vol. 2.

† Some of those consequences are thus significantly shadowed out by one of his opponents:—The author must either renounce his argument or the Gospel.—Those who believe the Fathers of the second and third centuries to be more credulous than those of the fourth, may fancy the Apostles, to have been the most credulous of them all.—If the world were so credulous immediately after the Apostles, it will not be easy to comprehend how it should have been much less so in the Apostles' times:—the author's charge, indeed, stops with the Fathers, but his arguments do not stop there; for if the Fathers can be proved to have been forgers of lies, the consequences may go a great way."

A friend and correspondent of Middleton, the Archdeacon of Carlisle, seems to have been fully as little aware, or as reckless, of the obvious consequences of depreciating these early teachers as was Middleton himself. "Christianity (says this wise divine) was in its infancy, at most in its childhood, when these men wrote, and, therefore, it is no wonder that they spake as children, that they understood as children, that they thought as children." In another place, the Archdeacon, under an evident feeling of impatience at the testimony which the Fathers bear to the truth of what are called Popish doctrines, exclaims—"Let me not be censured, though I should be so bold as to say, that we should have understood the Scriptures much better, if we had not had the writings of the Fathers!"

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How unreservedly, indeed, Dr. Middleton let out the whole of that inconvenient fact, which it had been so long the policy of his brother divines to keep veiled in the background,—namely, that primitive Christianity was neither more nor less than modern Popery,—will appear from some Remarks of his upon a Catechism professing to be by a Protestant, and giving an account of the chief articles of belief of the early Church:—"We may now see (he says) from a clear deduction of facts and circumstances, as they are set forth in this piece, *how directly the authority of the Primitive Fathers tends to lead us into the Church of Rome;* we see it ascribing a supreme and independent power to the Church, asserting that Popish Sacraments, a propitiatory sacrifice of Christ's body and blood, both for the living and the dead; Prayers for the Dead, to procure some relief and improvement of their intermediate state; Exorcisms, Chrisms, Consecrated Oil, Sign of the Cross, Penances, Confessions to a Priest, Absolutions, Relics of Saints, &c. &c."

This rash sally from the sanctuary,* whatever mischiefs it may have otherwise occasioned, by giving the signal, as it were from the church-top, to all sceptics and infidels for a general assault on the earliest witnesses of the Christian faith was, in one respect, at least, productive of good by putting to shame all that pretended deference to the Fathers which it had been so long the policy of the Divines of the Church of England to adopt. Their manifest object in this was to produce an impression, among all who knew no better, that those ancient teachers of Christianity lent a sanction to the Reformed doctrines. By the imprudence of Middleton, however, this instrument of delusion was rendered powerless in their hands;† for, however calumnious and false were, on

* "Dr. Middleton (says the Norrisian Professor, Hey,) does not seem to fall far short of Mr. Hume on Miracles."

† In the following passage from one of the Lectures of Dr. Hey, we find the motives of *both* the parties, in these two opposite views of the Fathers pretty fairly stated:—"Those who defend the pretensions of the fathers do it *through fear*, lest, if they should appear indefensible, the cause of Christianity should suffer by the condemnation of its early propagators. Those who accuse the Fathers of superstition, weakness, or falsehood, consider what indelible disgrace they shall bring upon Popery by showing the impurity of *the source from which all its distinguishing doctrines have taken their rise.*"

With respect to the accusations, here mentioned, against the Fa-

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most points, his representations of the Fathers, he had, at least, abundantly succeeded in showing that they were, in faith and practice, any thing but Protestants; and that, therefore, to refer to them as authorities for Protestant doctrines was a deception which, once well exposed, was not likely to be often, or with any success, repeated.

Accordingly, we have seen that, from that period,—with the exception now and then of a Daubeny, or a Faber, who still resort to the old battered armoury for weapons,—the Church of England divines have, for a most prudent reserve, left the Fathers, as auxiliaries, undisturbed on their shelves: and the few departures from this safe policy* into which they have been tempted must serve, more and more, to confirm them in the advisedness of their rule. The late Bishop Tomline, for instance, in calling in the aid of the Fathers against the Calvinists, only showed how totally misapplied and perilous was their alliance in such a cause;—the very same testimonies which he thus brings to bear against the tenets of modern Calvinism being no less fatally efficient against the doctrines of the first Reformers, as well as

thers, of "superstition, weakness, &c." they are the same that have, for centuries, been brought forward against the religion which glories in having followed them; and the best answer to all such attacks on the early teachers of Christianity is to be found in those wise and sarcastic words which I have once before quoted from Lardner:—"Poor ignorant Primitive Christians, I wonder how they could find the way to heaven. *They lived near the times of Christ and his Apostles. They highly valued and diligently read the Holy Scriptures, and some of them wrote Commentaries upon them; but yet it seems they knew little or nothing of their religion!* . . . . . Truly, we of these times are very happy in our orthodoxy."

* The two very interesting works of Bishop Kaye, relating to St. Justin and Tertullian, are hardly to be accounted exceptions to the system of policy here noticed, as this accomplished scholar has approached his subject far more in the spirit of a Dilettante than a divine, and treated the Fathers very much as he might the classics of a barbarous age, making their works subservient to the illustration of the peculiar customs and opinions of their times. How coolly his lordship deals with some matters of opinion and evidence which, in the days of the chivalry of controversy, would have made a thousand folios leap from their shelves, will appear by the following specimen. Referring to the opinions of Tertullian respecting the Eucharist, the Bishop says that this Father "speaks of 'feeding on the fatness of the Lord's body, that is, on the Eucharist,' and 'of our flesh feeding on the body and blood of Christ, in order that our soul may be fattened of God.' These are, it must be allowed, (adds the Bishop,) strong expressions." Strong, indeed!—though forming, as his lordship ought to know, but one of a countless host of such proofs, that Tertullian's doctrine of "feeding on the Lord's body," really and corporeally, was the universal belief of the early Christian Church."

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against the predominant spirit of the articles of his own Church.*

I have now satisfactorily, I trust,—though far more at length than I had, at starting, anticipated,—succeeded in establishing the very material position which I had laid down, namely, that the antiquity claimed by the Catholics for the doctrines of their Church, or, in other words, the identity which they maintain exists between their system of belief and that which the first teachers of Christianity promulgated, has been long, by Protestants themselves, reluctantly, but still most effectively, admitted.

On finding thus remarkably corroborated the conclusion to which I myself had come, that what is now called Popery was, in fact, the whole and sole faith of the primeval Christians, I know not whether the prevalent feeling in my mind was that of triumph or mortification. In the first place, had these important concessions been somewhat earlier known to me, I might have been spared all those pains of parturition which the first volume of this work so unnecessarily cost me;—my situation now being something like that of the famous Cardinal Sfondrata, of whose book on Predestination it was said, "que s'il avoit commencé son ouvrage par la seconde partie, il se seroit épargné la peine de composer le première." In the second place, I had, I confess, flattered myself, as do the self-taught in all lines of study, that the results which I had thus lighted upon were of my own peculiar and exclusive finding out. The discovery, therefore, that so many others had arrived at exactly the same point before me, gave to my task a degree of triteness for which I was by no means prepared, and not a little dimmed, in my eyes, the glory of my research and scholarship.

On a review of the whole, however, the effect of all these inquiries upon my mind was still farther to stimulate me to the prosecution of the pursuit in which I had

* "The Evangelical Clergy (says the Bishop's able opponent, Mr. Scott) do not contend that our Articles, Liturgy, &c., are in every title exactly coincident with the sentiments of Calvin; but *that they contain*, in a more unexceptionable form, *all that they deem essential in his doctrine*."

Dr. Maclaine, too, (the translator of Mosheim) says of the Ultra-Calvinist proceedings of the Synod of Dort, "Its decisions, in point of doctrine, were looked upon by many, and not without reason, as agreeable to the tenor of the Book of Articles established by law in the Church of England."

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engaged; my strong persuasion being that there must, after all, be something more in the nature of the Protestant Church, than I was yet aware of, to enable her to hold her ground, even so long as a constituent portion of the Christian world, notwithstanding her thus acknowledged defection from most of the doctrines of the early Church, as well as of that mark of the great Father of Heresies which I have shown to be branded on her brow. "In Germany," exclaimed I to myself, "if any where, I shall be sure to find her in her first, genuine shape, with all the associations, too, which such antiquity as it is in her power to boast, combined with the influences of the 'Genius Loci,' are able to shed around her birth-place."

After taking leave, therefore, in an affectionate letter, of my fair Calvinistic friend, and promising faithfully to attend to her commissions respecting Luther's Table Talk and the Pastor Fido, I set out from Dublin on the twentieth of August, and staying but a few days in London, on my way, arrived at Hamburgh about the end of the month.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Hamburgh.—Hagedorn.—Klopstock and his wife Meta.—Miss Anna Maria à Schurman, and her lover Labadie.—Account of them for the Tract Society.—Forwarded through the hands of Miss * *.

From a traveller starting upon a tour so purely theological in its object, the reader will hardly be prepared to expect much of that variety of observation which, in general, constitutes the chief charm of the wayfarer's narrative. With the neighbourhood of Hamburgh I found some names and recollections associated in which, as a lover of poetry, and of literature in general, I could not but feel interested. How far this city has cause to take pride for having been the birth-place of Hagedorn, my entire ignorance of that Anacreontic poet's writings forbade me to judge; but of the merits of Klopstock the va-

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rious translations of his writings had enabled me to form some notion, and I accordingly visited the tomb of this famous poet with all due reverence;—though less, I am ashamed to confess, on account of his renowned Messiah, than for the sake of the memory of his devoted and interesting wife, Meta.*

In the mood of mind, however, into which my late studies had thrown me, neither poets, nor the fair idols of poets, had much chance of occupying any great portion of my attention; and the only little romance I could get up, illustrative of the neighbourhood of Hamburgh, had for its heroine the learned and once famed Miss Anna Maria à Schurman, a lady celebrated by the pens of Vossius, Beverovicius, and other erudite Dutchmen, but to whose fame and name I was now for the first time introduced.

The history of this fair Savante, from the time when she first undertook (as one of her biographers expresses it) "to be, like Luther and Calvin, the architect of her own faith," till she became the disciple and, it is said, wife of the notorious Labadie, would afford, in a small compass, as edifying a picture of the effects of the Reformation as could be desired. Her lover Labadie who, at last, rose to the "bad eminence" of being at the head of a sect of Protestant fanatics, was one of those preachers of piety and practicers of profligacy, who knew so well and artfully how to avail themselves of the excited fancies of the female Reformers of that period; and one of the precious doctrines which he is known to have held was that "God could and would deceive, and that he had sometimes actually done so!"

A member of the Catholic Church till his fortieth year, Labadie saw what a field was opened by the outbreak of the Reformation, as well for the license of private passion as for the freaks of private opinion; and, having first distinguished himself in his own church by endea-

* The wide difference there is between the selfish sensibility of a man of genius and the warm, devoted, unconscious generosity of a natural-hearted woman, is most characteristically exemplified in the respective characters of Klopstock and his wife, as exhibited in their Memoirs.

The grave of this poet is at Ottenson, a small village near Hamburgh, where he lies buried in the church-yard, beneath a large linden-tree under which he used to sit.

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vouring to corrupt a whole convent full of nuns, he abandoned the Catholic faith and turned Calvinist minister. The popularity which, in this new character, he attained,* as a preacher, was almost without example; and the contrast known to exist between the spiritual doctrines which he taught, and the very anti-spiritual tenour of his private life was not without its attraction for many of his fair disciples. Of the manner in which he still ventured to instruct his female followers, an instance is given by Bayle, in rather an amusing anecdote, which only a philosopher like Bayle could well venture to tell;—and, after a career, not unlike that of some of the old Gnostic heresiarchs, this worthy off-shoot of the Reformation died at Altona, in the arms of his last love, the pious and learned Anna Maria à Schurman, in the year 1674.

Out of all this,—difficult as were some of the particulars to manage,—I contrived during my leisure moments at Hamburgh, to make out a plausible, and even decent little religious story which I despatched to Miss * *, as the first fruits of my foreign inquiries after Protestantism, begging her to present it to the Religious Tract Society, of which I knew her to be one of the most distinguished members.

The account given of her own early life by Miss Schurman, in a work published at Altona, furnished me fortunately with some anecdotes, respecting her infant days, which could not be otherwise than interesting to the evangelical world. We find recorded here, for instance, the first young stirrings of that piety which shone forth, in after days, so signally, under the auspices of the "John of Jesus," as her lover, Jean Labadie, styled himself; and, among other things, we are told of the effect produced upon her, when she was a little girl not quite four years old, by the first Question and Answer in the Heidelburgh Catechism, which filled her, she assures us, with "so deep a sense of love for Christ, that not all the

* "It is remarkable enough (says Mosheim's Commentator) that almost all the sectaries of an enthusiastical turn were desirous of entering into communion with Labadie. The Brownists offered him their Church at Middleburgh, when he was suspended by the French synod from his episcopal functions. The Quakers sent their two leading members, Robert Barclay and George Keith to Amsterdam, while he resided there, to examine his doctrine."—*Vol. 3.*

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years passed, since then, had been able to efface the lively recollection of that moment." She then informs us* of her early taste for making babies, in wax, as well as the singular propensity which she had, through life, for eating spiders.

From this interesting part of her history I was enabled to trace her to the full meridian of her fame, when, mistress of twelve languages, and writing fluently in four of them,—besides being a proficient in music, painting, sculpture and engraving,—she had the Spanheims, the Heinsiuses, the Vossiuses at her feet, and returned learned answers to the Epistolic Questions of the Dutch Doctor, Beverovicius.* The literary memoirs, indeed, of this lady might be made to include within their range some of the names of most celebrity on both sides of that controversy to which the doctrines of the famous Synod of Dort gave rise. Thus with Rivetus, the bitter opponent of Grotius, she held a long correspondence of which the object was to discuss the often agitated question "Whether it was proper to instruct a Christian woman in the Belles Lettres;"—and it is not difficult, through all the civility of her Calvinist correspondent, to perceive that this Champion of "Immutable Decrees," could he have had his own will, would not suffer one of the sex to soar an inch above the work-bag.

While such homage was paid to her fame by this high-flying Calvinist, she boasted also some warm admirers in the Arminian line; of which number was Gaspar Barlæus, the celebrated Latin poet, whom the Gomarists ejected from all his employs in the Church for no other reason than that he refused to believe, with the Synod of Dort, that God had created the greater portion of mankind for the sole purpose of damning them. Among the works of this Arminian poet we find some verses to our erudite heroine, the concluding lines of which may be

* Pectus meum tam magno gaudio atque intimo amoris Christi sensu fuisse perfusum, ut omnes subsequentes anni istius momenti vivam memoriam delere potuerint nunquam.—Ευκλεια, *seu melioris partis Electio.*

* Epistol. Quæst. Roterod. 1644. There is also among the "Responsa Doctorum," published by the same writer in 1639, an Answer by Miss Schurman. To the illustrious list of her correspondents the names of Salmasius and Huygens are to be added,

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cited as a specimen of the free and rakish style in which learned ladies used at that period, to be addressed by learned gentlemen:—

> Scribimus hæc loquimurque tibi. . . . . .
> . . . . . .
> Sin minus illa placent, et si magis oscula vester
> Sexus amat, nos illa domi debere putabis.*

The change from this brilliant, but, as Miss Schurman afterwards deemed it, vain-glorious period of her life,† to that stage when religion and Labadie took possession of her whole soul, opened a field for Tract eloquence of which I was not backward, as may be supposed, in availing myself;—that saintly time, when instead of bending over the profane pages of a Horace or a Virgil, she had no longer eyes or thoughts but for such Evangelical writings as the "Herald of King Jesus," "the Song-Royal of Jesus," and other such lucubrations of her spiritual lover; and when looking back with shame to the praises which the learned world had heaped upon her, she solemnly, and in the presence of the Sun, as she tells us, cast away and renounced all such objects of her former vanity.‡

* *Heroic.*—As a Reformed Minister did not think it unbecoming of him to write these gay verses, one who is neither a minister, nor Reformed, may, I presume, venture thus to paraphrase them:

> Now, perhaps, having taxed my poetical art,
> To indite you this erudite letter,
> You've enough of the sex, after all, in your heart,
> To like a few kisses much better.
> And in sooth, my dear Anne, if you're pretty as wise,
> I might offer the gifts you prefer,
> But that Barbara tells me, with love in her eyes,
> I must keep all my kisses for her.

It should be mentioned, for the better understanding of these verses, that Barlæus had never seen his fair correspondent, and that Barbara, whom he here mentions, was his wife. The final fate of this poor poet was melancholy. Whether from the triumph of the Gomarists, or the loss of all his Church preferment, his mind became at last so deranged that he fancied himself to be made of butter, and lived in constant fear of approaching the fire.

† There is an edition of her works, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French. Lugd. Batav. Elzevir. 1648.

‡ "Eôque omnio mea scripta, quæ ejusmodi turpem animi mei laxitatem vel mundanum et vanum istum genium redolent, hoc loco, co-

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In this state of pious self-abasement did Miss Schurman pass the remainder of her days;—fully recompensed, however, for her sacrifice of the Beveroviciuses and Rivetuses by those inward illuminations of the spirit and familiar communings with God by which she supposed herself to be favoured; and having received, as has been already mentioned, the last sigh of her Apostle, Labadie, at Altona, she departed this life, not long after him, in the year 1678.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Blasphemous doctrine of Labadie—held also by Luther, Beza, &c.—Reflections.—Choice of University.—Göttingen:—Introduced to Professor Scratchenbach.—Commence a course of lectures on Protestantism.

Though it was my fate thus, at the very entrance into my new field of research, to be encountered by so strong a specimen of the effects of German Protestantism, I must beg the reader to rest assured that it was by no means my wish to attach undue importance upon any such insulated instances of fanaticism or absurdity, well knowing that there never existed a system of doctrine so pure as that, among those professing it, some such examples of unworthiness might not be found.

The only point fairly to be considered is, whether there were not, deep-laid in the very principles of the Reformation itself, the seeds of all such extravagancies as we have been just now considering; and whether the profligate and but too successful apostleship of Labadie and the fantastic devotion of his disciple, Anna Maria, were not as naturally and necessarily the result of that unbounded license which was accorded to private judgment,

ram Sole (ad exemplum candidissimi Patrum Augustini) retracto; nec amplius pro meis agnosco: simulque omnia aliorum scripta et potissimum Carmini Panegyrica que vanæ gloriæ atque istæ impietatis charactere notata sunt, tanquam à meâ conditione ac professione aliena procul à me removeo ac rejicio."

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at the time of the Reformation, as the similar excesses of most of the early heretics were the fruits of the same principle equally by them asserted and put in practice.

And here, I must beg especial attention to a fact, which, to most readers, will, I have no doubt, appear as startling and almost incredible as it did, when first I happened to light on it, in the course of my studies, to myself. The blasphemous doctrine held by Labadie, that "God could and would deceive mankind, and that he had sometimes actually done so," is one that with difficulty we can conceive admissible, for a single instant, into any sane mind. But, once admitted, there is no extent of demoralization and corruption to which, under the shelter of God's own example, it might not be made to lend a sanction. What then will be said, by those who now, for the first time, learn the fact that such was the impious doctrine of most of the leading Reformers, and that it is in short asserted, in express terms, by Luther himself!

In order to get rid of some of the difficulties which beset the doctrine of Election and Reprobation, and reconcile those passages of God's Word wherein the wicked are invited to repentance with those predestinating decrees by which he has already fixed and sealed their doom, the first Reformers found it necessary to adopt the monstrous supposition that, in such addresses to the reprobate, the Almighty is not serious, nor, in thus inviting them to repentance and amendment, really means what he says!—"He speaks thus," said they, "by his *revealed* will, but, by his *secret* will, he wills the contrary,"—or, as Beza expounds it, "God occasionally conceals something which is contrary to that which he manifests in his Word!"*

But it is by Luther himself that this gross blasphemy has been brought forward in its most prominent and most revolting relief. In commenting on Gen. xxii. and on the conduct of God, as there represented, towards Abra-

* Celari interdum à Deo aliquid ei quod in verbo patefacit repugnans.—*Resp. ad Act. Colloq. Mompel.*—The Calvinist Piscator, too, equally charges God with this rick: "Deum interdum verbo significare velle, quod reverâ non vult, aut nolle quod reverâ vult." (*Disp. Contra Schafm.*) "In his word God sometimes intimates that he wills what he really does not will, or that he does not will, what he in reality does will."

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ham, (which is one of the instances given of this alleged opposition between the revealed and the secret will of the Almighty) Luther thus writes:—

"Such a species of falsehood as this is salutary to us. Happy indeed shall we be if we can learn this art from God. He attempts and proposes the work of another, that he may be able to accomplish his own. By our affliction he seeks his own sport and our salvation. Thus God said to Abraham, 'Slay thy son,' &c.—How! In tantalizing, pretending and mocking.* He likewise occasionally feigns, as though he would depart far away from us and kill us. Which of us believes that *this is all a pretence?* Yet with God this is only sport, and (were we permitted thus to speak) *it is a falsehood.*† It is a real death which all of us have to suffer. But *God does not act seriously*, according to his own showing or representation. *It is dissimulation*, and he is only trying whether we be willing to lose present things and life itself for his account."

It may be questioned whether, among all the blasphemies that have ever been written or spoken, any thing more revoltingly blasphemous than this has ever yet fallen from the tongue or pen.

Had I at the moment, indeed, when I was setting out from Hamburgh, been shown but the few unhallowed sentences just cited, they would have spared me, I think, all the trouble and disappointment of my journey; being sufficient, of themselves, to have convinced me (though nothing more of this Reformer's doctrines had been known to me,) that, from a mind capable of forming such notions of a Divine Being as are there expressed, nothing worthy of supplanting a particle of the ancient faith could

* Deus dixit ad Abrahamum, 'Occide Filium, &c.'—Quomodo? *Ludendo, simulando, ridendo.*

† Atque apud Deum est *lusus*, et, si liceret ita dicere, *mendacium est.*—We find a similar view taken of God's conduct, respecting Isaac, by a Rationalist or rather infidel writer of the 17th century, who founds upon it a theory for the solution of such mysterious doctrines as Original Sin, Imputed Righteousness, &c.—All these mysteries, he maintains, are but a sort of *legal fictions*, by which God, who prefers such sinuous and mystic ways to the direct and natural modes of proceeding among mankind, chooses to work out his designs.—"Nolnit Deus opus hoc perficere directo illo et naturali ordine, quo pleræque res geruntur apud homines, sed per sinuosos mysteriorum anfractus, &c."—*Præadamitæ, sive Exercitatio, &c.*

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have emanated. I was, at that time, however, but slightly versed in the theological part of the history of the Reformation, and regarding the doctrine, therefore, of Labadie as his own peculiar blasphemy, without any sanction for such impious trifling from the chief leaders of his sect, I dismissed the circumstance wholly from my thoughts, and, with renewed zeal of research, prepared cheerfully and even sanguinely for my projected tour.

After some deliberation with myself as to the particular university, which it might be most advisable for me to select as the first scene of my studies, I at last decided for the school memorable in theological annals, as having produced a Mosheim, a Michaëlis, an Ammon, an Eichorn, and proceeded direct, without any delay in the course of my route, to Göttingen.

It would have been my wish,—and I had made a promise, to that effect, to Miss **,—to put my mind in a sort of training, for the reception of Luther's Gospel, by a pilgrimage to some of those places which are now connected immortally with his name. The cell at Erfurth, for instance, where as an humble Augustinian monk, he, in whom the Vatican was so soon to meet with a *counter* thunderer, used to solace his lonely intervals of devotion with the flute;—the picturesque ruins of the Wartburg, under whose roof he lay concealed from his enemies, and to which, (in the modesty of his heart, comparing himself to St. John,) he gave the appellation of "his Patmos;" —these and a few more such romantic visits would, I felt, have wound me up to the true Lutheran pitch, and besides have furnished me with materials for such a letter to Miss * * as would have delighted that future Rectoress of Ballymudragget prodigiously.

It was while at the Wartburg, by the way, and while occupied with his famous translation of the New Testament, that Luther was frequently, as he thought, visited by the Devil, in the shape of a large blue-bottle fly. His well-known visiter, however, did not succeed in giving much interpretation to his biblical toils; for Luther, "who (to use the words of an intelligent traveller) knew Satan in all his disguises, rebuked him manfully, and at length, losing all patience, as the concealed devil still buzzed round his pen, started up, and, exclaiming '*Willst*

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du dann nicht ruhig bleiben!' hurled his huge ink-bottle at the Prince of Darkness."*

To have visited all the scenes of such characteristic displays would have been, I was well aware, the most edifying mode of preparation I could adopt for the nearer acquaintance I was about to form with the doctrines of the chief actor in them. As it was, however, the only initiatory regimen to which I doomed myself was the swallowing down a cup of that famous beer of Eimbeck, which was counted so orthodox a drink among the German Reformers, and over flagons of which most of their new plan of Christianity was settled. That the great Luther himself was no foe to this beverage,† appears from the fact, which is on record, that the good citizens of Eimbeck sent him, in token of their admiration, a present of some of *their best;* and "as he could not (says my authority) go to Eimbeck himself, to give the words of salvation for the liquor of earthly life, he is said to have despatched thither two of his most faithful and thirsty disciples."‡

It must not be thought, from the tone of banter in which I here speak of the state of my mind, on leaving Hamburgh, that the turn of my views at that period, partook in any degree of the same mocking character. We are often apt, in referring to scenes or feelings that are past, to invest them with a colouring not originally their own, but reflected back upon them from the experience which

* Russell's Germany.

† To this beer he no doubt alluded, in his famous sermon at Wittenburg, when, in impressing upon his hearers that it was not by force of hands the reform of abuses could be effected, he told them that words had hitherto done every thing for them:—"It was words (said he) that, while I myself lay quietly asleep, or was drinking, perhaps, my beer with my dear Melancthon and Amsdorf,—it was words that were, in the meantime, shaking the Papacy as no Prince or Emperor ever could have done."

In this same sermon it was that he so far outraged all respect both for his cause and his followers as to threaten that, if his advice was not followed, he would, without hesitation, retract his whole course, unsay every thing he had written or taught, and leave them to themselves;—adding, in a taunting manner, "This I tell you once for all." —"Non dubitabo funem reducere, et omnium quæ aut scripsi aut docui palinodiam canere, et a vobis desciscere; hoc vobis dictum esto." *Sermo docens abusus non manibus, &c.*

‡ The traveller (Williams) from whom I have taken this extract, after stating that a barrel of this beer was, in the fifteenth century, a present for a Prince, adds that if it was at all like the specimens of it which still remain, the Princes must have had "execrable tastes and strong stomachs."

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we have since acquired. It is true, with my present knowledge of the life and the doctrines of Luther, I should find it nearly as difficult to speak with seriousness of his pretended Reformation as it would be to discuss gravely the claims to apostleship of a Montanus or a Manes. But it was under a far different aspect I considered the subject at the time of which I have been speaking. My limited acquaintance with the details of that strange jumble of creeds, out of which the multifarious monster, called Protestantism, arose, left me, to a great extent, ignorant of the system of faith I was about to espouse; while the anxiety I felt to discover in it such points alone as might in some degree justify my intended apostacy, made me comparatively blind to all that was of an opposite description, and even lulled, for the time, my natural sense of the ridiculous into inaction.

On arriving at Göttingen, I lost not a moment in availing myself of a few letters of introduction, with which the private tutor of a young friend of mine, who had passed some months at this university, had furnished me. It was through the means of one of these letters, I became acquainted with the chief Professor of Theology, M. Scratchenback, nor was it possible for me to have lighted upon an introduction more fortunate for the immediate object of my visit. Besides the great and acknowledged eminence of this gentleman, in the walk of learning where my inquiries now lay, there were also circumstances, at that moment, connected with the actual state of religion in Germany, which led him to regard with more than ordinary interest the particular object I had at heart in applying to him. Neither to him, indeed, nor to any one else had I made a secret of my intention to become a member of the Protestant Church, in case, on examining its doctrines, I should find them to be such as I could conscientiously approve.

In consequence of a long-laid train of causes, which I shall attempt briefly, in the course of these pages, to trace, there had been, of late, numerous instances of defection to the Roman Catholic faith, from both the Lutheran and the Reformed branches of the Protestant Church of Germany. These desertions, which seemed to some persons to be but the commencement of a current setting in towards Popery, had a good deal broken

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that spell of *indifferentism* which had, for some time, hung round the theologians of the University. Fearful only of excesses in belief, the faintest prospect of any return to that faith of which their forefathers had taken such pains to strip themselves, even to nudity, struck alarm through all their ranks; nor could the example, which it was now expected I was about to present, of a conversion in the opposite direction, have offered itself at any apter or more propitious moment.

With the utmost promptitude did my new friend, the Professor, undertake to put me fully in possession not only of the present state and prospects of Protestantism in Germany, but also of that purifying process by which, as he said, the whole system of Christianity had, in the course of the last half century, been lightened of much of its ancient alloy, so as to assume, at last, that comparatively pure and rational form, in which it is adopted by most enlightened German Protestants at the present day.

As I was well inclined to be an humble and unreplying hearer, my course of instruction took the shape rather of lecture than conversation; and my rule being, to note down, after each of our sittings, such portions of the Professor's discourse as had remained in my memory, I was enabled thus to preserve pretty accurately their substance,—allowing, of course, for such casual and, I trust, slight errors as, from my previous unacquaintance with the subject, may have stolen into my reports.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

First Lecture of Professor Scratchenbach.—Heathen philosophers.—Rationalism among the Heretics.—Marcion, Arius, Nestorius, &c. all Rationalists.—The Dark Ages.—Revival of Learning.—Luther.

It was, as I well recollect, on the eighteenth of September, that my course of Lectures under the learned Professor Scratchenbach commenced. As I was, at the

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time, rather indisposed, (no doubt, in consequence of the Lutheran beer on which I had ventured) the Professor offered, most condescendingly, to lecture me at my own odgings—a small apartment which I had, looking upon the canal; where, on the day above mentioned, taking his seat gravely opposite me, my instructor thus began:—

"Between the Priest and the Philosopher,—or, in other words, between the assertor of the authority of Faith, and the vindicator of the free exercise of Reason, —there must, at all times, and under all systems of belief, exist a principle of variance, which can only be prevented from coming to an open and a violent struggle, either by the interposition of the strong arm of the State in favour of one of the two parties, or by some mutual compromise or coalition among themselves. For the first of these modes of establishing religious peace, the alliance between Church and State has been always found the most efficacious contrivance. The plan of conniving at, and compounding with established superstitions was the policy adopted by the sages of Greece and Rome; and the practicability of a coalition between Theology and Philosophy is exemplified in the present state of German Protestantism.

"The exclusion of Reason from all interference in religious concerns was as strongly inculcated, it must be confessed, by the great philosophers of antiquity as it has ever been, at any period, even by Papists themselves. In fact, an implicit and uninquiring acquiescence in the religious rites handed down from their forefathers was regarded by them as one of the most exemplary duties of all good citizens. 'When religion is in question,' says Cicero, 'I do not consider what is the doctrine thereon of Zeno, Cleanthes, or Chrysippus, but what the Chief Pontiffs Coruncanus, Scipio, and Scævola say of it. . . . . From you, who are a philosopher, I am not unwilling to receive reasons for my faith; but to our ancestors I trust implicitly, without receiving any reason at all.*

* Cum de religione agitur T. Coruncanum, P. Scipionem, P. Scævolam Pontifices maximos, non Zenonem, aut Cleanthem, aut Chrysippum sequor . . . . A te philosopho rationem accipere debeo religionis: majoribus autem nostris, etiam nullâ ratione redditâ, credere. *Cic. Lib.* 3. *de Nat. Deorum.*

Another heathen philosopher thus speaks, in the same spirit: "When

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"So little, indeed, of a Rationalist, in our German sense, was Cicero, that, though acknowledging the art of augury to be a fiction and cheat, we find him denouncing, as worthy of the severest punishments, all who opposed or disturbed the popular belief in that rite.*

"In a state of things where a Cicero could speak thus, or, still stronger, where an Epicurus went, for decorum's sake, to prayers,† neither the Latin nor Greek priests had much to dread from philosophers; and, accordingly, in their respective periods, the most irrational superstition continued to flourish under the very shelter of the Garden and of the Academy. But, though so tolerant of their own established and time-hallowed absurdities, we may see, in the zeal with which Porphyry, Celsus, and Lucian, assailed, each in his own fashion, the Christian faith, that, towards what they accounted a new and intrusive superstition, these philosophers were by no means so tolerantly disposed;—being, in this, no doubt, of the opinion of your English divine, Warburton, that 'nonsense for nonsense, the old should keep its ground, as being already in possession.'

"It was far less, however, of the hostility of Philosophy than of her amity and alliance that the Christian Church, at that period, had any reason to complain;—the efforts made by some of the most learned of the Fathers to graft the tenets of Paganism upon Christianity having more than any thing else tended to adulterate the simple truths of the latter, and involve whatever there was of mysterious in its doctrines in still more hopeless darkness.

"The only instances, indeed, which occurred in those times, of free and fearless investigation into the credibility and historical consistency of the documents of Revelation, are to be found, as might be expected, among the Gnostic writers; and more especially,—as far as can be

all is so uncertain in nature, how much better is it and more venerable to adhere to the faith of our ancestors, as to a depository of truth, to profess the religions, delivered down by tradition, and fear the Gods that our fathers and mothers have taught us to fear." Quanto venerabilius ac melius antistitem veritatis majorum excipere disciplinam, religiones traditas colere, &c.—Cæcil. *ap. Minuc. Fel.*

* Nec vero non omni supplicio digni P. Clodius et L. Junius, qui contra auspicia navigaverunt; parendum enim fuit religioni, nec patrius mos repudiandus.—*De Div.*

† Vie d'Epicure, by De Rondel.

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judged from the mere abstracts of their works that remain,—in the writings of the Marcionites. The sifting search made by these heretics through the Old and New Testaments, for the purpose of pointing out the numerous contradictions between them, affords, perhaps, the first signal example in the annals of Christianity, of that sort of reference to Reason, as the arbiter of Faith, which formed the ground-work both of Protestantism, as introduced at the Reformation, and of that more extended system called Rationalism by which it had been superseded. How acutely Marcion perceived the utter irreconcilableness of the history of the Fall of Man with any of those attributes which true piety would accord to the Deity, appears from his comment upon that event, that 'God must be either deficient in goodness if he willed, in prescience if he did not foresee, or in power if he did not prevent it.'

"These glimpses of Rationalism, however, mixed up as they were with the wild fancies and absurdities from which no sect of Gnosticism was free, produced but little enlightening effect, even on those from whom they emanated, while upon the self-satisfied orthodox of the day they were, of course, entirely lost. Like all other heresiarchs, Marcion was followed for the absurd parts of his system, not for what was sound in it, and the former, with the usual good fortune of error, prevailed. The Church, too, fast intrenched within her frontier of Unity, and having, marshalled on her side, most of the learning and talent of Christendom, might safely bid defiance even to the assaults of Philosophy when approaching in the odious shape and name of Heresy.

"Thus kept safe from all scrutiny of reason, during its early and probationary period, Christianity, when, at last, adopted as the religion of the Empire, received the additional aid and sanction of the secular arm. At the same time, in acquiring this alliance, it could not but lose much of that internal union which the pressure of persecution, from without, is sure to impart to all proscribed religions. Hence Schism,—so much more dangerous than Heresy, as deriving from kinship but the readier power to wound, —began then only to show itself, to any formidable extent, when the Church, with "Kings for her nursing-

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fathers and Queens her nursing-mothers,' took her place, mitred and enthroned, as the chosen Spouse of the State.

"Then was it that, within her own bosom those controversies sprung up, which, though relating to the most awful concernments of another world, were decided by debates and majorities, like the most ordinary state-affairs of this,—the discussions of a riotous Council and the votes of a crowd of factious Bishops, being thought sufficient to determine such points as, whether the Trinity was to be abolished or retained, whether the Holy Ghost was a person or an accident, &c.—Through all these struggles, the Church, (owing chiefly, it must be confessed, to the influence of the Bishops of Rome,) triumphed signally over its adversaries; nor did the efforts of the schismatics to simplify and rationalize the popular articles of belief, in any one instance, succeed.

"In vain did Arius attempt to lay the foundations of a pure system of Monotheism, by asserting Christ to have been but a creature, made, like other creatures, by the one God of all. It was decided against him,* by a large majority of Bishops (many of whom, we are told, never asked the meaning of the word 'Consubstantial,' till the whole affair was settled) that the Son was *not* a creature, but a Being consubstantial and coeternal with the Father.† The decision, thus adopted, took its station in the code of Christian orthodoxy, and a ready answer was always at hand for all objections offered to it. For instance,—'if the Father and Son,' said the Rationalists, 'are to be considered thus identical, it may be said, that one of the Trinity has been crucified,—that one of the Trinity died.' 'By no means,' answered the orthodox, 'though the Father

* At the famous Council of Nice, assembled by Constantine, in the year 325.

† I have here considerably abridged the discourse of the learned Professor, who, besides that in the wantonness of his Rationalism, he chose to speak of these ancient Councils in a tone of levity which could not be otherwise than offensive to most readers, branched out also into details of those Assemblies which could as little fail to be found useless and tiresome. The authority cited by him for what he here relates of the Bishops is the Church historion, Socrates; who, it appears, adds that, on coming to an explanation, after the Council was over, such a scene of discord ensued among these unanimous voters of Consubstantiality as the historian could compare to nothing but a "battle fought in the dark."

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and Son are one essence, in perfect identity, yet could the Son die, without the Father also dying!"

"In vain did Nestorius,—who, to avoid the blasphemy, as he deemed it, of calling Mary 'the Mother of God,' held that there were two persons in Christ, the divine and the human,—venture to assert the very simple and obvious proposition, that 'a child of two months old never could be a God.' Against him also the usual summary mode of decision was adopted,* and the union of the two natures in one person thus inexplicably explained:—'As, in God, the Father, Son and Spirit are three persons and but one God, so, in Christ, the Godhead is one person and the manhood another person, and yet these are not two persons, but one person.'

"With equally ill success did Macedonius, another Rationalist, endeavour to relieve the Christian creed of the separate divinity of the Holy Spirit, maintaining that the Scriptures afforded no sufficient authority for such an opinion. He was answered that the want, as far as it exists, of express testimony to this doctrine arose from the unwillingness of the Holy Spirit, who dictated the sacred writings, to dwell on the share he himself had taken in the divine operations there recorded.† A Council, too, was, in the usual way, convened upon the subject; and, as the failure of all such appeals to reason, on one side, led invariably to increased demands upon faith from the other, this attack on the personality of the Holy Ghost but ended, as might have been expected, in establishing, among the orthodox, his consubstantiality and divinity. A majority of the Bishops present at that disorderly Council,‡—thirty-six, if I recollect right, having voted in the minority,—came to the decision now incorporated in

* By a Council held at Ephesus, A. D. 431.—Dr. Priestley, whose views of all these great Trinitarian Councils coincided, of course, with those of our Protestant Professor, after describing the proceedings of the Council of Ephesus, says, "In this *factious* manner was the great doctrine of the hypostatical union of the two natures in Christ (which has ever since been the doctrine of what is called the Catholic Church) established."

† Such is the reason given by Epiphanius for the omission of the Holy Spirit in Paul, 1 Cor. 8, 6. "There is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things."

‡ A Council assembled by Theodosius, at Constantinople, in 381.—I have here also taken the liberty of suppressing a considerable portion of the Professor's discourse. Among his authorities for the "disorder-

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the orthodox creed that 'the Holy Ghost was the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceeded from the Father, and who ought to be adored and glorified with the Father and the Son, and who spake by the Prophets.'

"It was before long, however, discovered that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father, —but without prejudice (said these enigmatical believers) either to his own claim to be considered as Father, or to the Son's right to be considered as only Son; and the fact and manner of this new line of procession was thus, at last, laid down: 'The Holy Spirit is eternally from the Father and the Son, and he proceeds from them *both* eternally, as from a *single* principle and by *one single* procession."

"During the ages of darkness and ignorance that followed the period of which I have been speaking, the Church was fortunate enough to have the undisturbed possession of the Christian world to herself;—the few pretenders to science who, from time to time, usurped the name of philosophers, being almost all of the ecclesiastical order, and therefore pledged to devote the whole stock of their wretched quibbling knowledge to the support of a superstition by which they lived and prospered, and of which such science as theirs was, at once, the offspring and nurse. Little, therefore, had religion to dread from the light of reason, in those times, when even Grammar was thought too profane a restraint upon the words of divine wisdom, and to be ignorant was accounted an essential qualification of all good Christians.*

"In the midst, however, of this darkness, there had appeared, now and then, some crepusculous gleams, which bespoke the approaches, however slow, of a more intellectual era. At last, in the fourteenth century, the night of ages began gradually to clear away; and, with the revival of

ly" character of this meeting, is St. Gregory of Nazianzum, in one of whose Poems it is asserted that the great object of those assembled at the Council was to procure for themselves bishoprics. "They fight," says the Saint, "and run into schism, and divide the whole world, for the sake of *thrones*." St. Gregory also adds, that "the Trinity was but a mere pretext for their wrangling, the true cause being an incredible spirit of hatred."

Και προφασις Τριας εστι' το δ'ατραυς εχθος απιστον.

* It was a saying of those times, "Quanto melior Grammaticus, tanto pejor Theologus."

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learning, there burst forth a 'morning of the mind,' a spread of thought and knowledge, in whose light, it was easy to foresee, Superstition would not very long linger.

"The important change, indeed, which was soon manifested in the tone of religious feeling through Europe showed sufficiently how the spirit of Christianity may be altered or modified by the more or less enlightened state of the minds that receive it. The hostility to the Roman See, expressed openly both by Dante and Petrarch, was but a foretaste of what the diffusion of a thirst for knowledge was yet to produce. Within the very precincts of the Church the inquiring spirit began disturbingly to display itself; and we find, among other instances, a friar of the Dominican order, Savonarola, so far anticipating the glorious era that was at hand as to venture to couple the word 'Reformation' with the Church,* and to maintain, in opposition to the preachers of mystery, the *reasonableness* of Christianity.

"Notwithstanding, however, such glimpses of a purer era of theology,—glimpses rewarded, as in Savonarola's case, with strangulation and burning,—the anti-papal adventurers of that period were, it must be confessed, far more of fanatics than of Reformers; nor was it till the ever-memorable outbreak of Luther himself that, for the first time, in the whole history of creeds, it was laid down as a principle, that Religion is to be subjected to the jurisdiction of Reason, and private judgment made the sole test and guide of Faith. From that moment, the triumph of Reason over Superstition was, however distant, secure. The very introduction of such a principle, into Christian theology at once threw open the sanctuary to the searching eyes of philosophy, and led, by natural and inevitable steps, (which it shall be my business, in future lectures, to trace,) to that enlightened and philosophical state of religious belief which you will find prevailing among most educated German Protestants at the present day."

* Savonarola wrote a *Ritratto* "della Revelazione della Riformazione della Chiesa."

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CHAPTER XL.

Reflections on the Professor's Lecture.—Commence Second Lecture.—Luther.—His qualifications for the office of Reformer.

It would be difficult to describe the state of astonishment and, at times, utter dismay, into which,—though obliged from a sense of good-breeding to put a restraint on my feelings,—I was thrown by the whole course and tendency of this most startling discourse; a discourse uttered, be it remembered, by one who was not only a Protestant Professor of Theology, but still more, a Minister, as I now for the first time learned, of the Hanoverian Church!

The natural cast of my disposition was, as I have before stated, deeply devotional; and I had at this time, notwithstanding my general love of inquiry on such subjects, formed but little acquaintance with the works of any infidel writers;—the few occasions on which I had tasted of the cold springs of Scepticism having rather repelled than allured me to any deeper draught.

The irreverence with which, I knew, most Protestants, of all countries and sects, think themselves privileged to speak of that illustrious array of Fathers and Councils which arose in the early times, as fortresses, along the banks of Christianity, during the first progress of that "river of God" through the world, sufficiently accounted to me for the views taken by the Professor of the inspired wisdom of those early beacons of the truth. It was not till I found him raising doubts, and even more than doubts, as to the direct agency of God in the promulgation of the Gospel,* and endeavouring to reduce that special mission

* The particular passage of the Professor's lecture here alluded to occurred in that portion of his discourse which, for reasons already given, I omitted. In speaking of the dark ages he had said; "It will be difficult for those who regard Christianity as a revelation direct from Heaven to explain why this revealed knowledge should, at the time of which we are speaking, have shared the fate of all mundane and ordinary knowledge, and like philosophy, poetry,—like the whole

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of a Saviour to the level of those every-day manifestations of beneficence which all alike proceed, though mediately, from the same divine hand,—it was not till startled by his arrival at this advanced stage of scepticism that I was, at last, aware in what direction my Protestant guide was leading me, and saw that already we were on the high road to the "waste wilderness" of unbelief.

There was, however, but little time allowed me for rumination on what I had heard before I was again summoned to hear more, by the indefatigable Scratchenbach, who, presenting himself early in my apartment, on the following morning, and resuming his subject where we had broken off, proceeded as follows:—

"In most respects, Luther may be said to have been eminently qualified for the great task of demolition which it fell to his lot to accomplish. Intrepid, vain, self-willed, and vehement,—fearless of all attacks from enemies, and elated easily by the acclamation of friends,—with passions ever prompt to suggest what was daring, and a perseverance proof against all scruples in executing it,—the very weaknesses and excesses of his character contributed fully as much as its better points to his success. The indiscriminate license of personal abuse in which he indulged gave a vigour to his public displays, in the eyes of the vulgar, which made all else appear feeble in comparison, and against which no man who was, at all, restrained by decorum, could hope to contend with any success. In the same manner, had his natural temperament, as regarded the other sex, been aught but what he

circle, in short, of human sciences,—should have passed through an eclipse as opaque and earthly as ever ignorance and superstition have combined to cast over mankind. That a light, so immediately from the hand of God, should, within a few centuries after its introduction into the world, not only fail in preventing the darkness that then fell over every other field of knowledge, but should itself become as much obscured by craft and credulity as were even the basest of those forms of superstition that had preceded it, is a supposition too monstrous, too derogatory to all our notions of divine power to find admission into the belief of any mind not wilfully hood-winked.

"A system of faith, however moral and excellent in itself, which follows so naturally the course of human weakness and change; which in a period of ignorance, takes the dark and gross colour of the times, and in an age of increasing civilization becomes proportionally enlightened, can assuredly lay no claim to those marks of Divine workmanship,—that instant, and constant perfection,—that grand sameness of design and execution, which characterizes all that bears the impress of the immediate hand of God."

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himself so coarsely describes it,* there would have been *one* impulse wanting of the many, strong and ungovernable, which, in defiance of decency itself, urged him on in his career.

"No other man, indeed, of the memorable band whom that crisis called forth, could have accomplished what may be called the rough work of the Reformation,—the revolutionary part of that great change,—with any thing like the same ability, perseverance, or success. Melancthon would have been far too hesitating and conscientious for the bold, Carlostadt too much of a leveller and fanatic for the timid, while Zwingli would have pursued a plan of Reform too philosophical and simplifying for almost all. Even the reverence with which Luther clung to many of the errors of the old faith, was, however weak, of much service, in facilitating his general object; as the transition from old doctrines to new was thus made to appear less violent, and while much was held forth for the lovers of novelty to look *forward* to, there was also much retained on which the reverers of antiquity could look *back*.

"Nor would it be right, among the various requisites for such a mission which he possessed, to omit adverting to his private character, as a convivial companion, which, among the sources of his influence, was certainly not the least popular. The refined, retiring habits of a leader like Melancthon would have presented nothing broad enough to the public gaze; while of Calvin, as an heresiarch, the sour, arbitrary sternness would have thrown such an air of rigour round the infant Reformation as would not have been likely to attract many votaries to its cradle. The social habits, however, of Luther, his jollity, his love of music, the anecdotes spread abroad of his two-pint cup,† his jokes, his parodies, &c.—all tended

* Ut non est in meis viribus situm ut vir non sim, tam non est mei juris ut absque muliere sim.—*Colloq. Mensal.*—See also his Sermon *de Matrimonio.*

† The famous goblet which this apostle of Protestantism called his "Catechistical Cup," and boasted that he could swallow down its contents at a single draught. See the *Colloq. Mensal,* If there were any need of additional testimony to the authority of this work, it would be sufficient to say that Jortin, in his Life of Erasmus, always refers to it, as authentic.

Of the Reformer's higher order of parodies the reader will find a spe-

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at once to divert and interest the public, and by lowering him to the level of their own every-day lives, established a companionship, as it were, between him and his most distant partisans.

"To this very day, indeed, his reputation, as a lover of pleasure and good cheer,—surviving, strange to say, almost all his theological tenets,—still continues to give a zest to some of our most popular drinking-songs. For instance!—

'D'rum stosset an,
Und singet dann,
Was Martin Luther spricht:
Chor. Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib und Gesang.
Der bleibt ein Narr sein Lebenlang,
Und Narren sind wir nicht.'*

"Such, undeniably, was the assemblage of at once apt and powerful qualifications, with which Luther came furnished to that work of assault and demolition, which forms usually the first stage of all radical Reformations, whether in faith, philosophy, or politics. We have next to contemplate his character from a far more lofty and trying point of view, and having accorded to him his full praise, as the assailant of an *old* system of faith, consider how far he is entitled to the same tribute, as the apostle and founder of a *new* one:—and here, in my opinion, all eulogy of Luther's character, as a Reformer, must cease.

"For that great principle which he was first the means of introducing into theology, namely, the acknowledgment of a right in every individual to interpret the Scriptures according to his own judgment, it is impossible to express too strongly the gratitude which all lovers of religious liberty owe to him. For the service rendered to Religion itself, by making Reason its ground-work, those who seek the reasonable in all things, in Faith as well as in every thing else, can never be sufficiently grateful to Luther and his associates. But here, in the introduc-

cimen in the appendix to Bower's Life of Luther; his more ribald displays in this way are to be found in the Table Talk, in Bayle, &c.

* "Then let us drink and sing what Martin Luther said—who does not love wine, women, and music, remains a fool all his life, and we are not fools."

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tion of this great pregnant principle,—a principle, bearing within it the germ of future consequences to Christianity which its propounders little foresaw,—the whole services of Luther to the cause of Truth and Rationalism terminate. His own practice, his notions of tolerance, his temper of controversy, the whole tendency, in short, of his creed and conduct, lay all, as we shall see, in the very opposite direction.

CHAPTER XLI.

Lecture continued.—Doctrines of Luther.—Consubstantiation.—Justification by Faith alone.—Slavery of the Will.—Ubiquity of Christ's body.

"Of the policy of retaining a few of the minor absurdities of Popery,* as a means of smoothing away the abruptness of so radical a change, I have already intimated my opinion; and had our Reformer confined himself to this slight compromise with prejudice, he might have been justified, thus far, on fair grounds of expediency. But he has to answer for a far more gross, as well as gratuitous, homage to absurdity. For, not only did he, in the free exercise of that reason of which he was so vehement an assertor, adopt, to its full extent, the old Popish belief of a Real Presence in the Sacrament, but also in professing to explain more orthodoxly the *modus* of that Presence, introduced a new and still more monstrous enigma of his own, in the place of that mystery which he had found, ready made to his hand; thus endeavouring, by the substitution of the small word *Con*, to give a new form and life to that venerable nonsense which had so long flourished under the auspices of the monosyllable *Trans*.

* The Professor alludes to Luther's retention of the rite of Exorcism in Baptism, of Private Confession before admission to the Lord's table, of the use of the Sign of the Cross, of the decoration of Churches with images, and other such observances of Popery, which were retained in Lutheranism.

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"That he was conscientious in his adoption of the doctrine of a Real Presence, the accounts left by him of his struggles upon this subject prove.* He was then recent, we know, from the study of the early Fathers of the Church, and, accustomed as he had been to consider their authority as superseding even that of the senses themselves, the strong proofs which he could not but find in their writings that they were all, to a man, believers in this miracle, were, to his still subjugated mind, sufficient evidence of its truth.† Had he luckily remained as ignorant of the Fathers as were, to the last, his colleagues, Zwingli ‡ and Calvin, the world might have

* The sincerity of Luther's belief in a Real Corporal Presence is marked strongly in his own declaration to Bucer: "Quicquid dico in hac summâ Eucharistiæ causâ ex corde dico"—"Whatever I say on this main point of the Eucharist, I say from my heart." He also declared that he would much rather retain, with the Romanists, *only* the body and blood than adopt, with the Swiss, the bread and wine, *without* the real body and blood of Christ. "Malle cum Romanis *tantum* corpus et sanguinem retinere, quam cum Helvetiis panem et vinum *sine* (physico) corpore et sanguine Christi."

We have, indeed, from Luther's own pen, (in his "Sermo, quod verba stent,") a most able exposition as well of the truth of the ancient doctrine of a Real Presence, as of the futility of the objections which his brother Reformers raised to it. Maintaining that the words of our Saviour are to be taken simply and literally, he points out, as if in anticipation of the fatal mischiefs that have flowed from the abuse of figurative interpretation by the Socinians, the great danger there is in admitting this mode of interpreting Scripture and suffering the mysteries of our salvation to be explained away by figure. The same submission with which we receive the other mysteries of the faith we should bring with us, he maintains, to the reception of this, not troubling ourselves with arguments either from reason or nature, but confining our thoughts solely to Jesus Christ and his word. To the objections raised as to how a body can be in so many places at once,—how an entire human body can lie in so small a compass—he opposes the equally difficult questions, how does God preserve his unity in a Trinity of persons? how was he able to clothe his Son with human flesh? how did he cause him to be born of a virgin?

The very same was the line of argument pursued by the Fathers; and it is with an ill grace that believers in the Trinity can deny the cogency of so kindred an appeal.

† Where the authority, however, of these holy men clashed with his own notions, as in his favourite doctrine of the Slavery of the Human Will, he made no scruple of casting it off. See his answer to Erasmus, *De Serv. Arb. T.* 2.

‡ When referred to the Fathers for evidence against some of his heretical opinions, Zwingli confessed that he could not find leisure to consult those writers; and to the famous "Mallet of Heretics," Faber, who pressed him hard with such authorities, he answered, "Atqui vel annum totum disputando consumere licebit, priusquam vel unicus fidei articulus conciliari possit." In such a hurry were these men to alter the whole system of Christianity, and so impatient were they of any reference to its earliest, and, therefore, purest teachers.

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been, perhaps, spared this mortifying specimen of the uses to which so vigorous a proclaimer of the rights of Reason could apply that faculty, when left to its free exercise, himself.

"The true secret of Luther's version of this mystery seems to have been that, failing in all his efforts to disengage himself from so strongly attested a doctrine of the primitive Church, he resolved that, though saddled with the mystery, he would have the credit, at least, of promulgating a new reading of it, so as to distinguish, by some variation, his dogma from that of the Papists, and thus keep the spirit of schism between their religions alive.

"Accordingly, unsanctioned, as he must have well known, by the Fathers, who, whenever they venture to speak clearly on the subject, always imply that the original substance of the elements is exchanged for that of the body of Christ, he had the face to intrude upon his Church that hybrid progeny of his own brain, half Popish, half Lutheran, to which he gave the name of Consubstantiation—a doctrine invented, it is plain, not so much to be believed as to be wrangled about, and which, having abundantly, for a season, served that purpose, has now passed into oblivion, leaving the Mystery, which it was intended to supplant, still in possession of the field.*

"However fitted, indeed, by the peculiar character of his intellect and temperament for the office of sweeping

* It is a signal tribute to the truth of the Catholic doctrine respecting the Eucharist, that the three classes of Reformers, who, in dissenting from it, differed among themselves, should, in every objection and argument which they brought against each other, furnish a weapon against them all to the hands of the Catholics. Thus Luther was accused by Calvin of doing violence to the words of our Saviour, who did not say "My Body is *in*, or *with* this," but "This is my Body;" you must, therefore, said Calvin, either admit with me, no Real Presence, at all, or else admit, with the Papists, the mystery of Transubstantiation. On the other hand, Calvin and Zwingli were with equal truth accused by the Lutherans of putting a forced construction on the words of our Saviour, who did not say, "This is the *figure*, or *sign* of my Body," but "This is my Body;" while Zwingli, in return, rated the Lutherans on their imprudence, in allowing that the word "*is*" retains its natural signification; because, if it does (argued Zwingli) the followers of the Pope are in the right, and the belief that the bread is converted into flesh must then follow, as a matter of course. "Fieri nequit quin panis substantia in ipsam carnis substantiam convertatur." *De Cœna.*—See also his answer to Billicanus.

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away, without mercy, established errors and prejudices, there cannot be a clearer proof of Luther's inadequacy to the task of founding an original system of his own, than the fact that, of all those points of doctrine which he himself, in his capacity of Reformer, introduced, not a single one has survived to this day among those Protestants whose Church bears his name. And in this respect, as in most others, he but shared the fate of all these earlier heresiarchs whose respective systems, from the want of that upholding authority which the Church of Rome alone has ever been able to afford to doctrine, survived but a short time themselves, leaving little more than the name of each founder to his followers.

"The very doctrine, indeed,—that of Justification by Faith alone, without Works,—which Luther propounded as the foundation of his religious Reform, (and in which he but revived, by the way, an old, exploded imagination of the Gnostics,) was brought into disrepute, even in his own life-time, by the dangerous consequences which his disciples deduced from it;* and in opposing, as he was sometimes forced to do, its most obvious results, he was but passing sentence of condemnation on his own boasted principle. Having himself, for instance, gone so far as to assert the extravagant paradox, that the works of men, 'though they might be good in appearance, and even probably good, were still mortal sins,'† his favourite, Amsdorf,‡ thought himself warranted in advancing a step farther, and maintaining that 'Good Works were even an obstacle to salvation;'§ while another of his disciples,

* The immediate practical consequences of this doctrine are thus described by one of Luther's own disciples, Martin Bucer:—"The greater part of the people seem only to have embraced the Gospel, in order to shake off the yoke of discipline, and the obligation of fasting, penance, &c., which lay upon them in the time of Popery, and to live at their pleasure, enjoying their lust and lawless appetite without control. They, therefore, lend a willing ear to the doctrine that we are justified by faith alone, and not by good works, having no relish for them."—*De Regn. Christ.*

† *Prop. Heidls. An.* 1518.

‡ Though himself but a priest, Luther took upon him, in the unbridled license of his self-will, to make this Amsdorf a bishop.

§ The question "whether good works were necessary to salvation" became, after Luther's death, one of those subjects of controversy which were agitated so fiercely and intolerantly among his followers. For simply maintaining, indeed, the affirmative in this dispute, the Lutheran Horneius was denounced as Papist, Majorist, Anabaptist,

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Agrippa, renounced the obligations of the Law altogether, and considered the enjoinment of Good Works as a Jewish, not Christian, ordinance.

"This doctrine, I need hardly remind you, was revived in England * by some fanatics of the seventeenth century, and to this day, as I understand, boasts a number of partisans in that country;† so that, in fact, in the dangerous extravagances of Antinomianism and Solifidianism, we must now look for the only vestiges of that vaunted dogma which formed the ground-work of the Saxon Reformer's religious edifice.‡

"I must not omit here, in reference to this doctrine, to notice,—as proving how unfit Luther was to be a teacher either of morals or religion,—his audacious interpolation of the word 'alone' in a verse of St. Paul to the Romans (iii. 28) for the purpose of gaining, by this fraud, some

&c. and severely condemned by the three universities of Wittenberg, Jena, and Leipzig.

* As a fair specimen of the opinions of these English Antinomians, I need but quote the words of their great champion, Dr. Tobias Crisp, who died in the year 1642:—"Let me speak freely to you and tell you, that *the Lord hath no more to lay to the charge of an Elect person, yet in the height of his iniquity, and in the excess of riot, and committing all the abominations that can be committed*,—I say, even then, when an Elect person runs such a course, the Lord hath no more to lay to that person's charge than God hath to lay to the charge of a believer; nay, *God hath more to lay to the charge of such a person than he hath to lay to the charge of a Saint triumphant in glory!*"

† Most of the English fanatical sects have, at some time or other of their career, taken up this doctrine of Luther. Thus it was a favourite tenet of Whitefield, "that we are merely justified by an Act of Faith, without any regard to Works, past, present, or to come." The lengths to which the Wesleyan Methodists carried the same convenient doctrine appears from the account which Wesley's able disciple, Fletcher, gives of them:—"I have heard them (he says) cry out against the *legality* of their wicked hearts, which they said still suggested that they were to *do something for their salvation*." The same writer represents some of these fanatics as holding that "even adultery and murder do not hurt the pleasant children, but rather work for their good. God sees no sin in believers, whatever sin they may commit. My sins might displease God, my person is always acceptable to him. Though I should out-sin Manasses, I should not be less a pleasant child, because God always views me in Christ."—*Fletcher's Checks to Antinomianism.*

‡ The sect of Lutherans that seem to have followed up most consistently their leader's doctrine, on this head, were the original Hernhutters, or Moravians, whose founder, Count Zinzendorf, maintained, among his Maxims, that "nothing is required to Salvation and to becoming our Saviour's favourite soul for ever, but to believe that another has paid for us, has toiled, sweated and been racked for us." *Maxims of Count Zinzendorf*—a work revised and corrected by the Count himself.

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sanction for his own doctrine of Justification by making the Apostle assert that 'man is justified by faith *alone*.'*

"Another article of his Reformed creed on which Luther prided himself no less ostentatiously, (though this, also, he derived from that fountain-head of most of his tenets, Gnosticism) was the absolute slavery and nullity of the human will;—a doctrine, in his eyes, so founded on Christian truth, that he professed his readiness to defend it 'against all the Churches and all the Fathers.' Notwithstanding this vaunt, however, and the audacious lengths to which he dared to carry his paradox,—even to the blasphemy of making the Deity the author of man's sin.†—he was forced, on this point, also, to yield to the saner suggestions of others; and consented, in the framing of the Confession of Augsburg, to the introduction of an article, in which the Liberty of the Human Will is ad-

* He was detected, by Staphylus, Emser, and others, in still farther frauds on the text of the New Testament, and for the same party purpose. Thus, in the 6th verse of the Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon, he omitted the word "work" after the epithet "good," notwithstanding that this word was, as these critics assert, in the famous Complutensian edition as well as in the old editions, in Latin, of Robert Stephen.

† In his work *De Servo Arbitrio*, Luther declares expressly that "God works the evil in us as well as the good; that the perfection of faith is to believe that God is just, though by his own will he renders us necessarily worthy of damnation, so as to seem to take pleasure in the torments of the miserable."

We have already shown in the preceding volume how large a portion of Protestantism has been borrowed from the monstrous schools of Simon Magus and the Gnostics; and from the same respectable source is derived also this doctrine—common alike to Luther and Calvin,—which supposes God to be the deliberate author of man's sin and ruin. "It was the belief of Simon Magus, (said Vincent of Lerins,) that God was the cause of all sin and wickedness, as having himself, with his own hands, created man of such a nature, as, by its own proper movement, and the impulse of a necessary will, is neither able nor willing to do any thing but sin." *Comm. c.* 34. Compare with this opinion the foregoing of Luther and the following of Calvin:—"Though Adam has destroyed himself and his posterity, *yet we must attribute the corruption and the guilt to the secret judgment of God.*" (*Calvin. Respons. ad Calumn. Nebul. ad Art.* 1.) Take also another specimen from a Calvinist of the seventeenth century, Szydlovius: "I myself acknowledge that, according to the common custom of thinking, it seems too crude to say, 'God can command perjury, blasphemy, lies, &c.'—and can also command that 'he shall not himself be worshipped, loved, honoured, &c.'—*Yet all this is most true in itself.*"—*Vindiciæ Quæst. aliquot*, &c. One of the Dort divines, Maccovius, (Professor of Theology at Franeker,) maintained, in still more express terms, that "God does by no means will the salvation of all men, that he *does* will sin, and that he destines men to sin, *as sin*."

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mitted to such an extent as by some has been even thought to border closely on Semi-Pelagianism.

"In this doctrine, respecting the Will,—as in every other, indeed, which he himself originated,—the nominal followers of Luther took a course entirely different from that of their master; insomuch that, in the time of Bayle, as we are informed by that writer, the Lutherans had been for a long period on the verge of Molinism. Bayle adds, too, in a spirit of prophecy, the following remarkable words:—'If the Lutherans go on in future thus departing from the dogmas of their ancestors,* there will come a time when they will in vain look for their doctrines in the Confession of Augsburg; and they will then, perhaps, do as the monks have done by the rule of their Patriarchs, that is to say, *place all matters again upon their former footing.*'†

"It must be acknowledged that the present state of Protestantism in Germany, combined with those desertions to the Catholic Church which are daily taking place, confirm but too strongly the acuteness of this shrewd philosopher's foresight.

"Nearly the same destiny as awaited the other doctrines of Luther attended also his strange notion concerning the Ubiquity of Christ's body. Taking for granted, that, as the *divine* nature of Christ is omnipresent, so must also be that *human* nature which is hypostatically united with it, he drew from hence the monstrous conclusion that Christ's body is *every where;* attempting thereby to account for its real presence in the Eucharist, in answer to Zwingli, who contended that not even God himself could cause the body of Christ to be in more than one place at a time.

"But from this wild doctrine, also, the Reformer found himself dislodged by those consequences which the inquiring spirit he had himself awakened deduced from it. 'If the body of Christ is every where,' said Brentius, 'it

* Not only did they desert their Founder's doctrine on this point, but also carried with them into their later extreme of opinion the same spirit of intolerance which they had manifested in the former. "Since then," says Gilbert, "the Lutherans have gone into the Semi-Pelagian opinion so entirely and so eagerly that they will neither tolerate nor hold communion with any of the other persuasions." *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles.*

† *Nouvelles Lettres Critiques sur l'Histoire du Calvinisme.*

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is, then, of course, present in a glass of beer, in a sack of corn, in the rope with which the criminal is hanged!' Whether we look to the doctrine itself or to the consequences drawn from it, we must own that the master and his disciples were well worthy of each other.

"Such, briefly, is the history of those misbegotten and short-lived dogmas which this Reformer had the audacity to present to the world as the legitimate offspring of Religion by her new consort, Reason;—so little had his mind of that power, which only great minds possess, of setting the seal of durability on its conceptions, and striking out truths that will last;—though gifted amply with the coarse vigour that can assail and demolish, so utterly wanting was he in that prospective spirit of Reform, which alters but to improve, and remoulds but to regenerate; which can look beyond the mere dazzle of the moment's change, and while it clears away the clouds of the past, can also send a steady light into the future!

"Hence was it, as I have already remarked, that of all those doctrines which belonged peculiarly to himself—all, in short, of his system that was not Popery at second hand—the greater portion found its Euthanasia in his own life-time, while of the remainder, all that at present survives is either the mere shadow, as in the Church of England Articles and Homilies, or the mere abuse, as in the tenets of the Antinomians and Solifidians.

CHAPTER XLII.

Lecture continued.—Doctrines of Calvin and Zwingli compared with those of Luther.—Luther's intolerance—how far entitled to be called a Rationalist.—Summary of his character, as a Reformer.

"TRIED by the test which I have applied to Luther,—the durability of their respective systems,—both Zwingli and Calvin must stand, as Reformers, very far above their Chief; most of the doctrines of the father of Calvinism being still held by his followers, in nearly the same form

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in which they were promulgated and consistently enforced by himself; while the rational view taken by Zwingli of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper,—as being a mere commemoration of the death of Christ, under the symbols of bread and wine,—has become the standard belief of most Protestant Churches.* Even the simple and unmysterious form to which Zwingli reduced the rite of Baptism, divesting it of all that miraculous efficacy which superstition had attributed to it, has not only been adopted into the creed of the Socinians, Unitarians, &c., but, with the same good fortune that attended his philosophic view of the Eucharist, has received the sanction of some of the most distinguished among your English divines.† So different has been the fate of the doctrines of Zwingli, and even of Calvin, from that which has justly befallen the crude, ill-considered, and abortive dogmas of Luther.

"While, on his own part, too, this clumsy and precipitate reformer contributed so little, in the way either of strength or ornament, towards the structure of the new faith, his intolerance led him to oppose violently every effort in the work of improvement by others; and it was soon seen that this loud champion of the right of private judgment would, if he had his own will, restrict the ex-

* "Zwingli's views on the subject of the Sacrament," says Bower, "have been adopted not only by the British Churches, but by many on the Continent."—*Life of Luther. Appendix.*

† Though the Zwinglian, or, as it has an equal right to be called, Socinian view of the Sacrament, had found its way into the English Church long before the time of Hoadly and Balguy, it was by these two divines that so bold and heterodox an innovation upon the doctrines of the Church of England, as declared in her Catechism and Articles, was first openly promulgated. "The rite of Baptism," says Dr. Balguy, "is no more than a *representation* of our entrance into the Church of Christ." (*Charge, on the Sacraments.*) He explains this farther by saying, that "the sign of a Sacrament is declaratory only, *not efficient;*" thus doing away that effectual and invisibly working grace, which, according to the Articles and the Catechism, is given by means of the Sacraments. In the same Socinian spirit, this Protestant divine tells us, that "the benefits of the Lord's Supper are not present, but future. The Sacrament is no more than a *sign* or pledge to assure us thereof."

Equally devoid of all efficacy and mystery was the Lord's Supper in the eyes of Bishop Hoadley, who agreed, with Zwingli and Socinus, in considering it as nothing more than a mere commemorative rite; or, as his able Protestant opponent, the Rev. W. Law, not unfairly describes his doctrine:—"Thus has this author stripped the Institution of every mystery of our salvation which the words of Christ showed to be in it, and which every Christian that has any true faith, though but as a grain of mustard seed, is sure of finding in it."

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ercise of that right solely to himself.* His coarse and bitter enmity to Carlostadt and Zwingli for no other reason than that they followed their own views of doctrine, not his, showed how widely different was his theory of toleration from his practice. 'They are,' said he, speaking of the Zwinglians, 'men damned themselves and drawing others into hell; nor can the Churches have any farther communion with them, or allow of their blasphemies.'† In another place, too, he says of these brother reformers of his,—'Satan reigns so among them, that it is no longer in their power to speak any thing but lies.'‡

"With an assumption, too, of infallibility, preposterous from such a quarter, he denounced the most trifling deviation, either on the one side or the other of that precise line of opinion which he had thought proper to dictate, as a transgression, not only against himself, but against God. The defeat of the Zwinglians, at Cappel, as well as the death of their able Pastor, he pronounced a judgment on them all for differing from his version of the Eucharist. In the same bigoted spirit was it that he refused to comprehend in the confederacy of Smalcald either the Zwinglians or those German states and cities which had adopted the opinions and confessions of Bucer.

"The same impatience, indeed, of all control which he evinced so usefully throughout his struggle with the Pope still continued to render him impracticable in the hands

* The author of the History of Leo the Tenth notices with just reprobation "the severity with which Luther treated those who unfortunately happened to believe too much on the one hand, or too little on the other, and could not walk steadily on the hair-breadth line which he had presented." The same writer remarks,—"Whilst Luther was engaged in his opposition to the Church of Rome, he asserted the right of private judgment with the confidence and courage of a martyr. But no sooner had he freed his followers from the chains of Papal domination than he forged others in many respects equally intolerable, and it was the employment of his latter years to counteract the beneficial effects produced by his former labours."

This part of Luther's character, indeed, has long been given up by all candid Protestants. The Rev. Dr. Sturges, in his "Reflections on Popery," allows that Luther was, "in his manners and writings, coarse, presuming, and impetuous;" and a far higher authority, Bishop Warburton, says, in speaking of Erasmus, that the other Reformers, such as Luther, Calvin, and their followers, understood so little in what true Christianity consisted, that they carried with them into the Reformed Churches that "very spirit of persecution which had driven them from the Church of Rome."—*Notes on Pope's Essay on Criticism.*

† *Ap. Hospin.* ‡ *Epist. ad Jac. Prep. Bremens. ap. Hospin.*

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of his brother Reformers; and this self-willed and selfish principle he allowed to influence him in the most important concerns. 'I abolished,' said he, 'the elevation of the Host to brave the Pope, and I had retained it so long to spite Carlostadt.'* In a similar strain of dogged defiance, combined, too, with the most unprincipled indifference as to the error or truth of the hasty notions he took up, we find him declaring that, if a Council were to order the Communion to be taken in both kinds, he and his would only take it in one, or none; and would, moreover, curse all those who should, in conformity with this decree of the Council, communicate in both kinds.'†

"How completely he held in subjection the wise, but too gentle Melancthon,—even to the endurance from him of blows, as Melancthon himself confesses,‡—would be sufficiently apparent, did there exist no other testimony of the fact, from the prominent station and authority which immediately on Luther's death, his former slave began to assume in all the counsels of the party. But it was then too late for the mild spirit of Melancthon to have any influence. The intolerant character of the Founder had sunk deeply and indelibly into his Church; and, as he himself had been accustomed jocularly to boast that he was a second Pope,§ so the followers of his creed but exchanged the infallibility of Bulls and Councils for the upstart pretensions to the same authority assumed by Confessions and other Symbolic Formularies.

"Hence, though Lutheranism has now,—thanks to the enlightening progress of Reason,—become, like most other such distinctions between Protestants, a mere name, its course, for nearly two centuries after the death of its founder, was marked by a bitterness of polemic spirit, a cold pedantry of doctrine combined with a hot-headed intolerance in practice,‖ such as never before conspired

* *Confess Parv.*

† *Form. Miss.*

‡ Ab ipso colaphos acceperim.—*Ep. ad Theodorum.* The wretched life which his tyrant led him is described touchingly in some of Melancthon's confidential letters. "I am in a state of servitude (he says to his friend Camerarius) as if I were in the Cave of the Cyclops; and often do I think of making my escape."

§ When Luther, in going to visit the Pope's Nuncio, in 1535, stepped into the carriage with Pomeranus, who was to introduce him, he said, laughingly, "Here sit the Pope of Germany and Cardinal Pomeranus."

‖ This intolerance of the Lutherans has been noticed, even to a late

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to render religion unamiable, since human systems of faith were first known in this world.

"In what respects beside his one, great, and signal achievement in substituting the tribunal of Private Judgment for the authority of the Church, this Reformer has been deemed, by Wegschneider, to deserve the title of Rationalist, I am wholly at a loss to discover.* Besides the instances which I have brought forward, from his doctrines, displaying an extent of irrationalism which goes beyond even the privilege of such sectarian absurdities, his favourite thesis, on which even the Doctors of the Sorbonne were opposed to him, that 'there are things false in Philosophy which are true in Theology' may be said to contain within itself the very essence of the Anti-rational principle; and, accordingly, on the first rise of the party called *Rationaux*, we find them frequently contesting this thesis with the orthodox.†

"It is true, that Luther first set the example,—though certainly not with any clear foresight of the consequences, of that unceremonious method of dealing with the received Canon of Scripture, which has in later times been adopted, and with such searching effect, by far more able inquirers into the authenticity of the sacred writings. In rejecting the Epistle of St. James, as spurious, and calling it a 'chaffy' production, 'unworthy of an Apostle,'‡ Luther was actuated, we know, by little else than a feeling of pettish impatience at the authority which this Epistle opposes to his own doctrine of Justification,—as

period, by Travellers in Germany. Thus, the Baron de Riesbeck says, in speaking of Frankfort, "La seule chose qui nuise à la liberté de penser, à l'humanisation des mœurs, et aux progrès du commerce et de l'industrie, c'est l'inquisition qu'exerce le Clergé Luthérien, qui forme ici la principale église."

* Wegschneider possibly meant no more than what many other German Rationalists (as M. Pusey informs us,) assert—viz. that "*their scheme is the perfection of that Reformation which Luther left incomplete.*"

† One of the earliest of the Rationalists, Meyer, in his work, "Philosophia Scripturæ Interpres, (which Semler republished,) contends strongly against the notion of Luther, that there are many things "quæ sunt vera théologicè ac philosophicè falsa."

‡ With a similar freedom Luther expressed his opinion of the relative value of the other books of Scripture. The Gospel according to John he called the Chief Gospel, and preferred it far to the other three. So, also, the Epistles of Peter and Paul were held by him to be far above the three Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, insomuch that these Epistles, together with the Gospel and First Epistle of John, contain all, in his opinion, that is necessary for a Christian to know See his *Preface to the New Testament.* 1524.

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also at the sanction, perhaps, which it affords to the Catholic Sacrament of Extreme Unction. In the same manner, his unseemly attacks upon Ecclesiastes and other Books of Scripture, are to be accounted only among those *post-prandial* effusions of his humour, for which, in his soberer moods of theology, he was hardly to be held responsible.

"Though the example, therefore, from such authority, of a want of reverence for any *part* of the received Canon, may have tended to weaken, in some minds, that homage for the *whole* which a long reign of superstition had impressed, it would be paying much too high a compliment to the headlong theology of Luther to trace to his factious attacks on the Epistle of St. James and Ecclesiastes even the germ of that bold school of scriptural criticism, for which we are so deeply indebted to the Rationalists;—a school, which, in our own times, has produced a Gesenius to call in question the authenticity of Isaiah, and a Bretschneider to impugn the genuineness of the Gospel and Epistles of St. John.

"For the rest, taking into view the predominant features of Luther's character,—his intolerance, his ungovernable temper,* his weak, anile superstition,†—the

* "It is impossible," says Calvin, in a letter to Bullinger, "to bear any longer with the violences of Luther, whose self-love will not permit him to know his own defects, or to endure contradiction." Those who wish, indeed, for favourable portraits of the Reformers must seek elsewhere than in the pictures they have drawn of each other. In return for the polite names which Luther lavished upon his fellow Protestants, calling them "blasphemers," "heretics," "devils," &c. they as freely retorted upon him such titles as the new Pope, the new Antichrist, and said that "those who could bear his violence must be as mad as himself." The same candour respecting each other seems to have pervaded the whole reforming circle, and while Melancthon tells us (*Testim. Præf. ad Frid. Mycon.*) that Carlostadt was a brutal ignonorant fellow, more of a Jew than a Christian, we are informed by Calvin (*Ep. Calv.*) that Bucer was full of tortuous and double-dealing ways, and that Osiander (in whose jokes Luther took such delight) was a man of the most profane conversation and infamous morals. (*Mel. Ep. ad Camer.—Calv. Ep. ad Mel.*)

† Besides the fancies of Luther, already mentioned, respecting his interviews and dialogues with the devil, he imputed also to this familiar the severe illness of which he was near dying in 1532. In the same manner some remarkable meteoric phenomena, which occurred in the following year, were, as Seckendorf tells us, attributed by Luther to diabolical agency. This historian, too, has preserved a letter from the Reformer to a servant-maid who was supposed to be possessed by a demon, and nothing could well be more weak or old-womanish than its contents.

With the exception of all that related to the operations of the devil,

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rank absurdity of those parts of his faith which he parodied from Popery, and the want of all stamina in those abortions of doctrine which he chose to father himself,—his utter failure in bequeathing to his followers one lasting dogma, but his complete success in transmitting to them the worst bitterness of the dogmatic spirit,—having glaringly before us these characteristics of his whole career, both as man and reformer, it requires, I must say, the summoning up of all our most grateful recollections of the vast service rendered by him to mankind, in throwing open the documents of Faith to the search of Reason, to keep alive in our minds even a due show of respect to his memory, or enable us to listen, without impatience, to the eulogies that are sometimes lavished on his name.

in which department Luther's power of belief shone unrivalled, his friend Melancthon was even more grossly superstitious than himself. It appears from his Letters that, while employed on the Confession of Augsburg, he attended anxiously to all stories of prodigies that were abroad, hoping to collect from them omens as to the success of his cause. An extraordinary overflow of the Tiber,—a mule delivered of a foal, with a foot like that of a crane, appeared to him, both of them, signs that something serious was at hand; while the birth of a calf with two heads, within the very territory of Augsburg, was an omen, he thought, of the approaching destruction of Rome, by schism. This last portent, indeed, he communicates seriously in a letter to Luther, acquainting him at the same time that, on that very day, the Confession of Augsburg was to be presented to the Emperor! That a mind, capable of such flights of absurdity, should believe also in the predictions of astrology was not to be wondered at; and accordingly we find that this noble victim of superstition was constantly brooding over the horrors of his own horoscope, which among other threatened misfortunes, had foretold that he was to be shipwrecked in the Baltic.

Addicted as was not only Melancthon, but,—as would seem from his letters,—the greater number of his correspondents, to this absurd belief in astrology, it does not appear, as far as I can learn, that they were any of them acquainted with the alleged prediction, respecting Luther himself, which, through the astrological calculations of Landin, was discovered in Dante, *Infern. Cant.* i. (See the remarks on this passage in Mr. Taafe's ingenious *Comment on Dante. Murray*, 1822.) As a still farther proof that the poet could have meant no other than Luther by his "Greyhound," M. Rossetti has, it seems, found out that the word *Veltro* is but an anagram of the great Reformer's name!

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CHAPTER XLIII.

Lecture continued.—the Reformer, Zwingli—superior to all the others—his doctrine on the Lord's Supper and Baptism—original author of Rationalism—followed by Socinus—Analogy between Transubstantiation and the Trinity.

"Of all the men, whom the great crisis of the Reformation called forth, the most clear-sighted, consistent, and enlightened, was, beyond all question, Zwingli; and it is among the instances which show how, in all such revolutions, the thinkers anticipate the actors, that the mind of Zwingli was already in advance on the road to religious freedom, at a time when Luther still lingered in the dark thraldom of Popery. That to the latter, when once roused, the praise of enterprise and its reward, success, were most amply due, cannot be denied. But the advantage in mind, which Zwingli possessed over him at starting, he maintained ever after;—not only throughout their joint living career, but in those important effects which have, to this day, survived themselves.

"Of the short-lived dogmas, indeed, of Luther, it may be said, (to borrow an illustration from one of your English writers,) that 'they rose like the rocket, and fell like the stick;' while not a single one of those doctrines which Zwingli either introduced or adopted,—such is the vitality which good sense can infuse into all that it handles,—has been suffered to pass away from the Protestant faith; for, while his rational view of the Eucharist very early supplanted both the monstrous mystery of Luther and the evasive Real *Absence** of Calvin, his simple and

* The Calvinistic view of the Eucharist is thus explained by a learned Protestant: "Calvin and Beza will not allow the bread and wine to be so much as the vehicle of the body and blood, but make these things not only distinct but very far distant from each other. They allowed nothing but bare elements to be taken from the celebrator, and if men, over and above, receive the body and blood of Christ, that was to be attributed to their own faith, by which they imagined they could communicate of the body and blood, at any other

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unmysterious doctrine respecting Baptism has, for a long time, been adopted by most Protestant Churches, and has even found its way, in spite of Catechism and Articles, among your *subscribing* Church of England Divines.

"Nor was it so much by the example he thus set towards clearing away the alleged mysteries of Christianity, as by the mode of interpreting the text of Scripture which he adopted for this purpose, that Zwingli established his claims to the gratitude of all lovers of the reasonable and the intelligible. The rule laid down by him, for this great object, and which he fully exemplified in his own manner of dealing with the Eucharist, is simply as follows:—never to let the mere literal sense of a passage of Scripture stand in the way of a rational interpretation of its meaning; but, wherever the words, taken literally, would imply something irreconcilable to reason, to solve the difficulty by having recourse to a metaphorical sense.

"Thus when Christ, for instance, in instituting the Eucharist, said, taking the bread in his hands, 'This is my body,' the words, thus solemnly uttered, were accepted, there is no doubt, by the Primitive Christians, in their strict literal sense,* even as Christ himself uttered them; and the miracle which he then announced, as one permanent, through all future time, in his Church, held its place in the faith of the whole Christian world for a period of no less than fifteen centuries.

place, and in any other religious action, as well as at the Lord's Table or at the Sacrament."—*Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice.*

The same industrious inquirer into Christian antiquity, says, in speaking of the view of this Sacrament now prevalent in the Church of England:—"But what all ages and Christians before thought too mean and base to be the whole entertainment for pious souls at the Table of the Lord, that is, mere bread and wine, without either natural or spiritual body, and blood joined to them, or accompanying them, without any divine grace or benediction shed upon them by the Holy Ghost,—these weak elements, barely set apart for a pious use, our Arminians and Socinians have substituted for the Medicine of Immortality, the Sanctifying Food, the Heavenly as well as Earthly Thing, the Spiritual Nourishment, the Divine Substance, the Tremendous Mystery of the Ancients.

* To this belief, as being that of the ancient Church, the immortal Leibnitz thus bears testimony:—Aiunt enim (the Impanatores) corpus Christi exhibere in, cum et sub pane: itaque cum Christus dixit, hoc est corpus meum, intelligunt quemadmodum si quis sacco ostenso diceret hæc est pecunia. *Sed pia antiquitas aperte satis declaravit panem mutari in corpus Christi, vinum in sanguinem* passimque hic veteres agnoscunt metastoicheisin quam Latini transubstantionem rectè verterunt.—*Systema Theologicum.*

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"In the just confidence, however, that no antiquity, however venerable, has any right to establish a prescription in favour of fiction and error, the philosophic mind of Zwingli at once saw through the misconception which had, even from the apostles themselves, veiled the meaning of these words, and, by the application of that test of scriptural truth to which I have just referred, showed manifestly that, in saying of the bread, 'This is my body,' Christ could have meant only 'This *signifies*,' or 'is the *sign* of my body.'

"It was, I repeat, in his bold adoption and enforcement of this simple mode of interpretation that Zwingli's chief and inappreciable service to the cause of Rationalism lay. For, though he himself did not extend the principle farther than to the Eucharist and Baptism, it has been, by later followers in the same naturalizing path, applied to other mysteries not less untenable. It is, therefore, to the example first set by this Reformer in rejecting all that was miraculous in the Sacraments, that we owe that process of simplification which the whole system of Christianity since has undergone, till, gradually purified through the successive strainers of Arminianism, Socinianism, and Unitarianism, it has, at length, settled into that clear and, if I may so say, filtered state of belief, unobscured by mystery, and unimbittered by controversy, which is exhibited in the rationalized creed of our Protestant churches at this day.

"In mystery and supernaturalism has ever lain the strong-hold of priestly influence; and the two grand and unfailing sources of this influence, in the creed which preceded those of the Reformation, were the Real Presence and the Trinity. In getting rid of the first of these, the Swiss Reformer not only opened an inlet for light on this one particular point, where, as Milton said of his own blindness, 'Wisdom was at one entrance, quite shut out,' but also, by the principle which he applied, as a touch-stone to this long-standing miracle, prepared the way for the fate, at no distant day, of its twin mystery, the Trinity. He was, in fact, suspected of being, on this latter doctrine also, a Rationalist; insomuch that Luther, who was too acute not to perceive that all such mysteries have one common cause, called on him publicly for an explanation of his orthodoxy on the subject.

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"It was, indeed, hardly possible these men should be blind to the sure and natural consequences of the revolutionary principle which they were introducing into religion; and how clearly Melancthon, at least, foresaw that the Nicene mystery of the Trinity would, in its turn, be arraigned at the bar of all-judging Reason, appears from a passage in one of his letters, where, speaking of Servetus, he says, 'You know I always feared that there would be, at last, this outbreak about the Trinity. Good God! what tragedies will these questions, 'Whether the Word is a Person, Whether the Spirit is a Person, give rise to among our descendants!'*

"So conscious was Zwingli himself of the invaluable prize which he had lighted on, in this discovery of a mode of interpreting Scripture which would bring its mysteries down to the level of human reason, that he used to call his application of this principle to Christ's words, his 'Margarita felix,' or 'happy pearl,'—as though with a sort of joyful anticipation he was looking forward to those still farther triumphs over error which future champions of Reason would, with the same simple weapon, achieve.†

"Nor was there long wanting one to wield this weapon with a degree of courage and effect which will for ever render his name 'a hissing' in all priestly ears,—the learned and excellent Socinus. The very same principles of interpretation by which Zwingli had been enabled to relieve Christianity from the portentous incubus of a Real Presence, were made equally available by Socinus for the subversion of Christ's divinity, and of all the complex machinery of mysteries connected with that belief.‡ In one of his works, on this latter subject, we

* Περι της Τριαδος scis me semper veritum esse fore ut hæc aliquando erumperent. Bone Deus, quales tragœdias excitabit hæc quæstio ad Posteros, *ει εστιν υποστασις ο Λογος ει εστιν υποστασις το Πνευμα.*—*Lib.* 4. *Ep.* 140.

† In this mode of interpretation, as in every thing else, the ancient heretics anticipated the modern. Thus Tertullian tells us (*de Resurrect. Carnis*) that those who opposed, in his time, the doctrine of the Resurrection of the flesh argued that "the language of Scripture is frequently figurative, and ought to be so considered in this instance; the resurrection of which it speaks being a moral or spiritual resurrection."

‡ The doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction, for instance, is thus got rid of by Socinus:—"Even though I should find it written, not to say

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find the great parent of Socinianism pointing out as well the analogy that exists between Transubstantiation and the Trinity as the similar processes of reasoning by which both are to be rejected;* and the following are the terms in which he sums up his parallel:—

"'But, as the monstrous and sophistical notion of the Eucharist has been, by the help of God, so plainly exposed that even children, with reason, laugh at and explode it, and it is now evident that what was reckoned the most divine mystery of the Christian religion is the grossest idolatry, so we hope that the shocking fictions concerning our God and his Christ which at present are supposed to be sacred and worthy of the deepest reverence, and to constitute the principal mysteries of our religion, will, with God's permission, be so laid open and treated with such scorn that every one will be ashamed to embrace them, or even bestow any attention on them.'—*Socin. Opera, tom. I.*

"It is more peculiarly, perhaps, in that branch of the history of the Reformation which relates to the rise and progress of Anti-Trinitarian doctrines that we are able to trace, step by step, the natural working of the principle which that revolution, in favour of reason, against authority, introduced. The impossibility of fixing a boun-

once, but frequently, in the Sacred Writings, I still would not believe it in the sense which you have put on it. For, as that is utterly impossible, I would interpret all such passages accordingly, giving them the sense that suited my views of the matter, as I have done with many other passages of the Scriptures."—*Socin. Lib.* 3, *de Servatore.*

As farther specimens of his manner of applying this rule of interpretation, it need only be mentioned that in his Exposition of the First Chapter of John's Gospel he overleaps the difficulty which there meets him *in limine* by maintaining that John, in calling Jesus the *Word* of God, uses at once a *metaphor* and a *metonymy;* and the passage (v. 14,) where it is said that "the Word was made Flesh," he explains away by showing that the verb γινεσθαι, which is here translated "was *made*," means sometimes simply "*was*." "Therefore," he adds, "we ought not, in this passage, to translate the verb *was made flesh*, but *was flesh*. For it has been sufficiently proved already that by the term, *the Word*, must be understood the man who was born of the Virgin Mary, who could not be *made* flesh, but *was* flesh."—A disciple, it must be owned, worthy of him who first showed that the words, "This *is* my body," mean "This *signifies* my body!"

* The biographer of Socinus, Toulmin, in defending this mode of "having recourse to a figurative and more lax sense of all such passages as otherwise assert things derogatory to the divine perfections," adds, "*There is no other way of evading the force of the Papist's argument for Transubstantiation, from the express words of the institution.*"

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dary, at which Reason, once started on her inquisitorial career, shall content to rein in her speed, could not be more strikingly exemplified than in those successive stages of reform by which the dignity of Christ's nature was lowered from its divine station, losing, at every stage, some attribute of glory that once belonged to it,—first, to the subordinate, but still heavenly rank assigned to it by the Arians; then, by a farther fall, to the region, half heavenly, half earthly, of Socinianism; and from thence down, by rapid descent, to the entirely human solution of the whole mystery, in the creed of the Unitarian.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Lecture continued.—Anti-Trinitarian doctrines among the Reformers.—Valentinus Gentilis.—Socinianism—its weak points.—Progress of Anti-Trinitarianism—the Holy Spirit, not a Person, but an Attribute.

"Among those bolder speculators who ventured, early in the progress of the Reformation, to express openly their dissent from the received doctrine of the Trinity, the only one whose opinions on the subject seem to have been stated clearly, either by himself or others, was Valentinus Gentilis. This Italian Reformer (one of the scions from that nursery of Anti-Trinitarianism, established in the year 1546, at Vicenza) though he was for despoiling the Saviour of his Godhead, still allowed him to have been a super-angelic spirit, born before all worlds, who became incarnate in the human body of Jesus, with the view of effecting the salvation of man.

"The next step, in the descending scale, was the doctrine of Socinus, who, rejecting, as a notion unsanctioned by scriptural evidence, all belief in the pre-existence and superior nature of Christ, held that he was, by nature, man, though of miraculous birth,—being conceived of the Holy Spirit and born of a virgin, without the intervention of any human being. Thus being properly,

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said Socinus, the Son of God, and endued with divine wisdom and power, Christ was sent, with supreme authority, on an embassy to mankind; and, after his death and resurrection, becoming, like a God, immortal, received from the Father all power in heaven and earth, having all things, with the exception of God himself alone, placed under his feet. To a being invested with this divine sovereignty it seemed naturally to follow that divine worship was due; and Socinus, in according such worship, was far more consistent than a great number of his followers,* who, while they hesitated not to believe that a human creature could have been elevated to all this God-like sway, yet, with a reservation not very intelligible, refused to invoke so mighty a sovereign in their prayers.

"It required, in truth, but a very little farther advance of the rationalizing principle to supersede, by some more plausible scheme, the well-meant, but wholly untenable system of Socinus, who, by this transfer of all the power of heaven and earth into subordinate hands, made of Christ a sort of Maire du Palais and degraded the Almighty into a Fainéant. One of his disciples, Palæologus, had suggested,—evidently as a means of escape from the grand absurdity of their system,—that though such power might have been intrusted to Christ, during his stay on earth and before the fall of Jerusalem, he had, since his death, resigned all into the hands of the Father, and no longer himself directed the concerns of his kingdom. This easy escape, however, out of an absurdity, which was even more gross than that of the believers in the God-man,† was rejected indignantly by Socinus, who,

* The same spirit of variation and dissension which has marked the course of every other branch of Protestantism we find also among the Socinians. After the arrival of Socinus in Poland, the Unitarians there formed thirty-two distinct societies, which had, as we are told, scarcely any common principle but this, that Jesus Christ was not the true God.—*Dictionnaire des Heresies.*

Those who take an interest in the history of Unitarian doctrines will find their curiosity gratified by the instructive sketch of the progress of Socinianism which Dr. Rees has prefixed to his edition of the Racovian Catechism.

† The absurdity of the scheme of Socinus is thus sneered at by a brother infidel—"And though the Socinians disown this practice [of allowing seeming contradictions in religion,] I am mistaken if either they or the Arians can make their notions of a *dignified* and *Creature-God capable of Divine worship* appear more reasonable than the extra-

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with the self-opinion characteristic of a system-monger, still persevered in his own views; and the following extract from his answer to Palæologus, in which, it will be perceived, he disposes of all the arrangements of the Divine government as familiarly as he would any matters of mere earthly concernment, will show, at once, the difficulties of the system which he wished to substitute for the Trinity, and the grossly human hypothesis by which he endeavoured to get rid of them.

"Thus does he argue with his disciple:—

"'If Christ be not removed to any distant place, from whence he cannot himself govern his kingdom; if he be not hindered by other engagements; if, lastly, he live for ever and be not fallen into inactive sleep, it is most weak to suppose that he hath resigned his kingdom to the Father, especially when the sacred Scriptures say not a word of it.

"If you allow Christ's care of his kingdom before the destruction of Jerusalem, as is very plain, for what reason should you deny it after this, and assert that he has resigned it to his Father? Is it because Christ has perhaps since removed to some remote place from whence he may not be able to govern his kingdom, or is so engaged in other concerns as to have no leisure for this office? or does he sleep during this interval; for I cannot imagine that you will be so mad as to say that he is again dead.'* *Socin. Opera, Tom. II.*

"This, from a worshipper of the Power of Reason, was, it must be owned, but a sorry offering at her shrine. But even the failures of such bold adventurers, in the cause of truth, have their use;—the very wrecks they leave become beacons for the guidance of those who follow them. The opinion,† that Christ was neither to be worshipped nor invoked, was but a forerunner of those

vagancies of other sects, touching the article of the Trinity."—*Toland's Christianity not mysterious.*

* Who could believe that it was of a man capable of uttering such blasphemies that the following eulogium was pronounced?—"High, most deservedly high as those great Reformers stand, Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin, in the Book of Fame, Faustus Socinus will be found to rank as high in the Book of Life, which is of more consequence."—*Theological Repository, Vol. I.*

† If we may believe his persecutor, Socinus, (for, however strange it may appear, these apostles of free-thinking have almost all been persecutors) David went so far as to assert that "it was the same

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farther curtailments of his dignity which were soon, in the natural course of such sifting inquiries, to take place. It was now found that his miraculous conception was unsupported by any scriptural authority, besides that of the introductory Chapters of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke; and this evidence, on the subject, a bold and unscrupulous spirit of criticism, which had now enlisted itself in the service of Rationalism, pronounced to be spurious.*

"The simple humanity of Christ's nature being thus clearly established, all that confusion between celestial and earthly natures, which had so long puzzled and shocked all reflecting Christians, was, to the great relief of common sense, effectually got rid of; while, by a similar verdict, or rather series of verdicts, the third member of the Trinity was disposed of in the same rational and satisfactory manner. By a scale of reduction, even more summary and rapid, the Holy Spirit was, in like manner, lowered, till, from its high and substantial station, as a constituent Person of the Godhead, it came to be stripped, at last, of all claims to be considered a Person, *at all*;—the conclusion to which the Socinian Reformers came, on this point, being that the Holy Ghost implies the Power and Energy of God, and is, according to the Scriptures, not a person, but an attribute.†

"In this outline of the course of *one* of the great branches of the Reformation, may be traced the working, step by step, of that naturalizing principle which has

thing to invoke Jesus Christ as to pray to the Virgin Mary and other dead saints."—*Socin. Opera, Tom.* 2.

* Some of the English Unitarians, content with rejecting only the two first chapters of Matthew, retain those of Luke, in which the passage relating to the miraculous conception has been explained by one of their most learned writers, as not necessarily supposing that there was any thing supernatural in the conception of Jesus.—*Unitarianism the Doctrine of the Gospel, by Dr. Carpenter.*

† After referring to numerous authorities on this point, one of the Editors of the Racovian Catechism (Wissawatius) thus concludes:—"It is most safe, therefore, adhering to the proper import of the word, to believe the Holy Spirit to be the power and energy of God, and consequently his gift, as is clearly revealed to us in the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament." There was, on this point, however, some difference of opinion among these sectaries, and the Father of the English Unitarians, John Biddle, was one of those who, as we are told, "took the Holy Spirit to be a Person, Chief of the Heavenly Spirits, Prime Minister of God and Christ, and therefore called the Spirit, by way of excellence."—*Brief History of the Unitarians*, 1687.

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more or less operated, throughout the progress of them *all*, and must, sooner or later, bring all to the same simplified result. And for these happy effects,—still happier in the farther consequences yet to spring from them,—we are indebted, primarily, of course, to that grand principle of the Reformation, which brought matters of faith within the jurisdiction of Reason, but secondarily, and above all others, to him who asserted that principle in its fullest extent, the bold and philosophic-minded Zwingli.

"In fact, by none of those who co-operated with him was the spirit of their mighty cause maintained with half such consistency, while living, or transmitted with half such effect to other times. Luther himself was, as I have shown, disqualified both by his temper and his superstition* for leaving behind him any durable monument but his name; while Melancthon, though hurried forward in the foaming wake of his leader, still sighed for the safe moorings of the Church, and was, at heart, half Papist.†

"Nor less unfit, though in a very different point of view, was Calvin, for the task of reconciling religion to reason, and establishing a faith such as men of sense

* To the picture of Luther's already presented in these pages, I cannot help adding two more touches,—one, from his own unerring hand,—which the above remark of the Professor suggests to me. In a preface to his works, written but a short time before his death, the Reformer says, "When I engaged in the cause of the Reformation I was a most frantic Papist; so intoxicated, nay, so drenched in the dogmas of the Pope, that I was quite ready to put to death, if I had been able, or to co-operate with those who would have put to death, persons who refused obedience to the Pope, in any single article." That he carried this amiable temper with him into the new extreme which he espoused cannot be doubted; and I shall only add to the specimens already given of the tolerance of his spirit the account which Seckendorf, the able apologist both of Lutheranism and its author, has left on record respecting the dispositions of his hero towards the Jews. "It was Luther's opinion," says Seckendorf, "that their synagogues should be levelled with the ground, their houses destroyed, their books of prayer and of the Talmud, and of the Old Testament be taken from them, that their Rabbis should be forbidden to teach, and forced by hard labour to get their bread," &c. &c.

† The Professor alludes, no doubt, to Melancthon's opinions in favour of the Primacy of the Pope, as well as his decidedly Catholic language, on the subject of the Eucharist, in the Apology for the Confession of Augsburg. It is curious enough that the very same passage, from the ancient Canon of the Mass, (implying expressly a change of substance, in the elements, after consecration) which gave such scandal by its admission into Melancthon's Apology, was adopted afterwards into the Liturgy which Charles I, endeavoured to force on the people of Scotland.

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could adopt. After rejecting,—or rather juggling away,* —the oldest mystery of Christianity, he introduced others, entirely unknown to antiquity, in its place; and, while that which he cast off was but chargeable with being offensive to human reason, what he adopted implies impeachment of the character of God himself. For what less can be said of his mystery of Election and Reprobation—a mystery into whose dark recesses none can look without shuddering, and which would make of the Almighty a Being such as even his own Chosen could not love.†

"To Zwingli, in short, alone, of all that memorable band, can the combined qualities required to constitute a great Reformer be attributed. Enterprising, but temperate, keeping the speculative in subordination to the

* By no other word than "juggle" could the Professor have half so justly described the sort of conjuror's process by which Calvin, in his mere mockery of a Sacrament, first lays before us the "proper substance" (as he proclaims it) of Christ's body; assuring us that it is as substantially present to the communicant as was the Holy Spirit under the form of a dove, and then, *presto*, by a sudden wave of the wand, converting this real presence into an absence, and showing that the receiver and the thing received are as distant from each other as earth is from heaven!

It is a strong proof, however, of the force of our Saviour's words, in instituting the Eucharist, that, while they compelled Luther, against his will, to believe in a Real Presence, they forced Calvin, with no less reluctance, to endeavour to *seem* to believe in it;—though, after all, the true explanation of Calvin's doctrine on this point, is to be found in the profane pun of his disciple Beza, who said that the body of Christ "non magis esse in *Cœna* quam in *Cœno*."

† The following concise and just statement of the fearful hypothesis of Calvinism is from Bishop Copleston's clearly reasoned treatise on the subject.—"We cannot, indeed, conceive how a Being who *knows* all things that will come to pass should subject another being of his own creating to *trial;* that he should expose this being to temptation, *knowing* what the issue will be, and yet speak to him before, and treat him afterwards, as if he did *not* know it." I have already shown (page 187) into what frightful blasphemies the natural consequence of this doctrine betrayed Luther and other supporters of it.

With equal conciseness another necessary consequence of Calvinism was put by a certain Landgrave of Turing, a great patron of the Reformed Doctrines, who, on being admonished by his friends of the dissolute course of life he was leading, made answer, "Si prædestinatus sum, nulla peccata poterunt mihi regnum cœlorum auferre; si præscitus, nulla opera mihi illud valebunt conferre." "If I am one of the Elect, no crimes that I may commit can deprive me of the kingdom of heaven; if I am one of the Reprobate, no works that I can perform will avail any thing towards bestowing it on me."—"An objection (adds Dr. Heylin, by whom the circumstance is mentioned) not more old than common, but such, I must confess, to which I never found a satisfactory answer from the pen of Supralapsarian or Sublapsarian, within the small compass of my reading."—*Quinquarticular History.*

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practical, and while throwing his energies into the present, still looking forward to the interests of the future, —firm in his own views and purposes, yet tolerant of the opposing opinions of others,—this great man not only, while living, showed himself worthy of the free cause for which he died, but, in dying, bequeathed a legacy of his spirit to mankind in the rational mode of interpreting the Scriptures which he taught, and the consequent release from mystery, and its attendant, Priestcraft, which the application of that golden rule has since achieved for us.

"To the slow, but sure, working of this one simple principle, we are indebted, I repeat, for the state of the Christian world at this moment. Hence, that philosophic calm, or,—as fanatics choose to denominate it,—*Indifferentism*, which has succeeded to the bitter and vehement controversies that once convulsed all Europe. Hence, the deniers of Christ's divinity, whose fate, in former times, would have been the dungeon or the stake, may now deny, with impunity,—may even pass muster as Christians, and take their station in the rear-ranks of Belief unmolested.*

"Even into regions that might have been supposed the least accessible to such light, the subtle influence of this principle has yet unerringly worked its way; for, look to your boasted Church of England,—who could ever, in the days of an Abbot or a Laud, have foreseen the possibility of such phenomena, among her Bishops, as a Hoadly and a Clayton?† What prophet would have then dared to

* The position of Unitarianism on the scale of Christian belief is well described by the late Bishop Heber, who calls it a system which "leans on the utmost verge of Christianity, and which has been in so many instances a stepping-stone to simple Deism." The accomplished Bishop would, no doubt, have been shocked to be told (what is, nevertheless, but too true) that his own religion was but the first of the stepping-stones in this path.

† Of the Essay on Spirit which this distinguished Prelate of the Church of Ireland published under his own name, in 1751, the zealous Whitaker thus speaks:—"This folly (of Arianism) has been recently revived by what appears a monster of absurdity to these later ages, an Arian Bishop of the Church. Bishop Clayton revived it in his Essay on Spirit."

It has been said that Clayton was only guilty of the imprudence of lending his name to this work, which was, in reality, the production of a young clergyman of his diocess. But the hostility of this bishop, not only to the Athanasian, but the Nicene Creed, and the bold effort which he made, by appealing to the house of Lords on the subject, to have both Creeds expunged from the Liturgy of the Irish Church, show

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predict that a day would yet arrive, when the mark of Arius would be seen peeping from under the mitres of the Establishment, and even Socinianism be allowed to touch, with her disenchanting wand, the long vaunted orthodoxy of the Church of England Sacraments?*

CHAPTER XLV.

Lecture continued.—Effects of the relationizing mode of interpretation as exhibited in Germany.—Contrasts between past and present state of Protestantism.—Inspiration of the Scriptures rejected.—Authenticity of books of the Old and New Testament questioned, &c. &c.

"We have seen that, even within the guarded precincts of the Church of England Establishment,—pledged, as it is, by Articles, and moreover bribed, by rich rewards, into orthodoxy,—the natural consequences of the primal principle of Protestantism have, in many instances, shown themselves, and would, doubtless, under a system of Church Government, less appealing to strong worldly considerations, have been still more fully, or I should rather say, more openly developed.

"But,—to bring home at once to the scene of its most extensive and signal results, this inherent and ever working principle of the Reformation,—need I point elsewhere than to my own country, Germany, for manifestations of

that though not, perhaps, the author of the Essay in question, he concurred sufficiently with it, in spirit, to be held answerable for all its heterodoxy.

* In charging the Hoadlyan scheme of the Sacrament with Socinianism, the Professor but echoes the language of one of the few Prelates of the Church of England, who have thought proper to declare themselves against this now prevalent opinion among the members of the Establishment. In a sermon, preached before the University of Oxford, the late Bishop Cleaver, after impressing upon his hearers the intimate connexion which subsists between the importance of the Lord's Supper and the dignity of Christ's nature,—insomuch that any depreciation of the high benefits of the former is, in effect, a denial of the divinity of the latter,—proceeds to say that the fame acquired in certain quarters by Bishop Hoadly's plain Account of the Sacrament was "*for the sake of its connexion with Socinian notions.*"

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its activity and its power; can we ask any more convincing proof of the efficiency of that one simple doctrine which taught that the Scriptures are to be interpreted according to the light of Reason, than is afforded in the deep, radical, and all-pervading change which it has worked throughout the whole system of religious belief in Germany?*

"Among that people, who once, in their zeal for the infallibility of Scripture, maintained that the whole of it had been dictated *verbatim* by the Holy Spirit,†—that the very Hebrew points and accents of the Old Testament were inspired, and, still farther, that even those formularies and Confessions of Faith, every line of which teemed with materials for wrangling, were, one and all, suggested by the same Heavenly prompter,—among that very people, so vast a change has the reasoning principle wrought,‡

* "It needed not be added (says the Rev. Mr. Rose, Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge) that the *Protestant Church of Germany is the mere shadow of a name.* For this *abdication of Christianity* was not confined to either the Lutheran or Calvinist profession, but extended its baleful and withering influence with equal force over each." —*Sermons.*

Similar to this is the account given by a German writer, Baron Starke:—"Protestantism," he says, "is so degenerated that little more than its mere name subsists at the present day. At all events, it must be owned it has undergone so many changes, that, if Luther and Melancthon were to rise again, they would not know the Church which was the work of their industry."—*Entret. Philosoph.*

† "Such an exaggerated theory of inspiration (says Mr. Pusey) did undoubtedly contribute mainly to shake in Germany the belief in the doctrine itself, since the whole seemed to depend upon this faulty theological system. It was *a fancied idea of expediency, in support of the main Protestant position against the Romanists,* which gave rise to this system among them. Deeply have their descendants to regret their short-sighted policy."

Thus was party-spirit at the bottom of all, during the first struggles of Protestantism. Having set up the Bible, as their sole guide, in opposition to the Catholics, to uphold its entire inspiration, in every word and syllable, became a point not so much of religion as of honour with the party; and the consequence has been, according to the ordinary course of such extremes, that the descendants of those very men who cried up the Bible as every thing, have now succeeded, as we see, in degrading the Bible to almost nothing.

‡ The following extract from the Sermons of Mr. Rose,—the gentleman to whom we owe our first full insight into the state of Protestantism in Germany,—contains, in a few words, such a general view of the subject as may save me the trouble of referring to his authority for the details:—"The rationalizing Divines of Germany are bound by no law but their own fancies; some are more and some less extravagant; but I do them no injustice after this declaration in saying, that the general inclination and tendency of their opinions (more or less forcibly acted on) is this,—that, in the New Testament we shall

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that they now reject all supposition of inspiration whatever, and regard the whole of the Scriptures themselves, from beginning to end, as a series of venerable, but human, and, therefore, fallible documents.

"In that same country whose theologians once prized the Old Testament as an equally valuable repository of Christian faith with the New,—seeing under the veil of its types the substance of the Gospel, and in its prophecies an inverted history of the mission of Christ*—in that country a more inquiring and discerning theology has now severed all such connexion between the two codes. Instead of finding Christ *every where* in the pages of the Old Testament, these divines (as was once objected to Grotius †) find him *no where*;—the prophecies hitherto assumed as having reference to the Saviour, being meant really to refer to the future state of the Jews, and having, consequently, no farther connexion with Christ than as *accommodated* by himself and others to his mission. The many wonderful instances which the Hebrew Scriptures record of the direct interposition of

find only the *opinions* of Christ and the Apostles adapted to the age in which they lived, and not eternal truths; that Christ himself had neither the design, nor the power of teaching any system which was to endure; that, when he taught any enduring truth, as he occasionally did, it was without being aware of its nature; that the Apostles understood still less of real religion; that the whole doctrine, both of Christ and his Apostles, as it is directed to the Jews alone, so it was gathered in fact from no other source than the Jewish Philosophy; that Christ himself erred and his Apostles spread his errors, and that, consequently, no one of his doctrines is to be received on their authority; but that, without regard to the authority of the Books of Scripture, and their asserted divine origin, each doctrine is to be examined according to the principles of right reason, before it is allowed to be divine."

* "They held," says Mr. Pusey, in speaking of those former theologians of Germany, "that all the distinguishing doctrines of Christianity were, even to the Jews, as much revealed in the Old Testament as in the New, and that the knowledge of these doctrines was as necessary to their salvation as ours." He then adds, that "No error seems to have prepared so much for the subsequent reaction, in which *all prophecy was discarded*, all doctrine considered to be precarious."—*Historical Inquiry.*

To such a length were these notions carried at that period (about 1640) that the celebrated Lutheran, Calixtus, was accused of Arianism and Judaism, because he thought that the doctrine of the Trinity was not revealed with equal clearness in the Old as in the New Testament; nor was, under the old dispensation, as necessary to salvation.

† It was said, with reference to their different modes of interpretation, that "Cocceius found Christ every where in the Old Testament, and Grotius found him no where."

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God in this world, are no longer looked upon as aught but Jewish images and dreams: those historical narratives, for whose truth, and even verbal accuracy, the Holy Spirit, as their dictator, used formerly to be held accountable, are now explained away, as allegories, or rejected, as forgeries; and even that most important of all, on whose truth so much of Christianity depends, the Mosaic History of the Creation and Fall of Man, has been shown to bear on its face the features of mythologic fiction.*

"While thus of the *Old* Testament our views have undergone such a change, some of our illusions, respecting the *New*, have been no less thoroughly dissipated. The notion, indulged in so fondly by our ancestors, not only of the inspiration of the whole volume, but of the uniform purity of its language, throughout, could not stand before the progress of an improving spirit of criticism; and, accordingly,—imitating rather the boldness of Luther himself than the blind homage paid by his Church to every syllable of Scripture,—our Divines have dealt as unceremoniously with most parts of the New Testament as did the great Reformer himself with the Epistle of St. James. They have shown that, in most of the Epistles, gross errors and interpolations abound,—the latter traceable chiefly to about the beginning of the second century; while not only the Epistles but the Gospel attributed to St. John, have been proved by Bretschneider to have been the productions of some Gnostic of the same period.†

"Nor is this all; for even the trust-worthiness of the remaining three Gospels has been called seriously into question by a most important discovery which we owe,

* On this point, the German Divines have not had all the Rationalism to themselves, as the Rev. author of the "Free Inquiry" was even beforehand with these critics in ridiculing the notion of "a Serpent's speaking and reasoning."—*See Middleton's Essay* on this subject, and also his *Letter to Dr. Waterland.*

† In the Preface to this work, Bretschneider justifies his object in writing it, both by the example of Luther and the principles of the Evangelical Church.—"Eam enim judicii libertatem non solum antiquissima sibi vindicavit ecclesia, sed eâ quoque usus est Lutherus, eademque denique principiis ecclesiæ evangelicæ est quam convenientissima." Many other German theologians, besides Bretschneider, and, among the rest, Cludius, (Superintendent of the Lutheran Church, at Hildesheim!) have taken similar views as to the spuriousness of the writings attributed to St. John,

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in the first instance, to the sagacity of our learned Michaelis, but which others, since his time, have brought still farther into light. The fact proved, as it appears, from clear internal evidence, by these critics, is, that the Three first Gospels are not, in reality, the works of the writers whose names they bear, but merely transcriptions or translations of some anterior documents.* To the proofs brought by our Rationalists of this fact, there has been, as yet, no satisfactory answer from the orthodox: and thus the minds of all thinking Christians are left to the painful doubt whether the same hands that copied may not also have interpolated, and whether Protestants may not find that their sole guide of faith, is, after all, but a dubious and fallible dependence, without those lights of tradition, by which, conjointly with the Scriptures, the Catholic Church has, through all ages, steered her course. We know, from undoubted evidence, that, about the end of the second Century, both the forgery of new Gospels and the adulteration of old ones prevailed throughout the Christian world, to a very great extent; and the latter species of fraud, if we may trust their mutual accusations, was, in an equal degree, practised both by heretics and by the orthodox;—'Ego Marcionis adfirmo adulteratum, (says Tertullian) Marcion meum.'

"But, however ultimately, the question respecting the genuineness of these documents may be decided, the rational mode in which we now interpret both their facts and their doctrines completely purges them of all that fanaticism and mystery from which Superstition has hitherto drawn her chief aliment; and our method of solving all such unsoundnesses and inconsistencies in doctrine, is, like most methods that are found efficient in their

* By Berthold, one of those critics who assert the existence of a common document, it is maintained that this original of the three first Gospels was written in Aramaic. The Epistles of St. Paul, too,—as well as, indeed, all the other Epistles,—he asserts, in like manner, to be merely translations from the Aramaic; so that, as an able writer in the British Critic has remarked, on the subject, "instead of the good old-fashioned notion that the New Testament is a collection of works composed by the persons whose names they bear, and who wrote under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, we must now believe that the original narrator of the Gospel History was an unknown person; and that the Gospels and Epistles, which we read in Greek, are merely translations made by some persons whose names are lost, and who betray themselves by several blunders in the work which they undertook,"—*July*, 1828.

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operation, simple. It being admitted that, on some points,—and, among others, for instance, demoniacal possessions,—Christ accommodated himself to the prejudices and superstition of his hearers, we think it warrantable, wherever his precepts are found to jar with sound reason, to seek in the same temporizing policy the solution of such difficulties.

"The doctrinal part of the New Testament being thus sifted of its *irrationalism*, there remained but the task of reconciling to the laws of reason and nature, those deviations from the course of both which its recorded miracles present; and this not very easy service our theologians have attempted, with success as various as the modes which they have adopted for their purpose,—sometimes resolving the whole wonder into a mere exaggeration of natural phenomena; sometimes showing, as in the instance of Jesus walking upon the sea, that to a preposition, mistranslated, the entire miracle owes its origin;* and sometimes even (as was the case in the time of Mesmer's celebrity) attributing the wonderful cures performed by Christ to the effects of Animal Magnetism.† In short, by one explanation or another, all that is miraculous in the relations of the New Testament has been evaporated away effectually, leaving nothing but the mere human realities behind.

"Thus, of all that imposing apparatus of miracles,—which, having been conjured up as a necessary appendage

* According to this solution of the miracle, which we owe to a *Professor of Theology*, Paulus, the words επι την θαλασσαν περιπατουντα are to be translated "walking *by* the sea," instead of "walking *on* the sea." His explanation of the miracle of the tribute-money and the fish is equally worthy of a Protestant Professor. "What sort of miracle is it," asks Paulus, "which is commonly found here? I will not say a miracle of about 16 or 20 groschen, (2*s.* 6*d.*) for the greatness of the value does not make the greatness of the miracle. But it may be observed, that as, first, Jesus received, in general, support from many persons, (Judas kept the stock, John xii. 6,) in the same way as the Rabbis lived from such donations; as, secondly, so many pious women provided for the wants of Jesus; as, finally, the claim did not occur at any remote place, but at Capernaum, where Christ had friends, a miracle for about a dollar would certainly have been superfluous.' For a farther account of this precious Theologian, see Rose, *State of Pretestantism in Germany.*

† In speaking of the enthusiasts for animal magnetism, who went so far as to attribute to it the raising of the apparition of Samuel by the Pythoness, the Abbé Grégoire says, "Comme les néologues Protestans, ils appliquent à d'autres faits surnaturels racontés dans la Bible cette thaumaturgie médicale qui tendroit à démolir tout le plan de la révélation."

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to Christ's Divinity, should now, along with that Divinity, be suffered to pass away,—the only one that still retains a hold on our faith is the great miracle of the Resurrection, to which, in despite of all reasoning, human nature still clings, and which, therefore, but few of our theologians have yet ventured to call in question.*

"Into a detail of the various doctrines, reputed hitherto as the very essence of Christianity, which have already fallen before the all-conquering march of Rationalism, it is not my intention here to enter. Suffice it to say, throughout that region,—including Switzerland † within its circle,—which saw the birth, the triumphs, the excesses of the Reformation; that region, where intolerance once rioted over its victims; where Pestelius was condemned to death by the lawyers of Wittenberg for no other reason than that he differed with them on the subject of the Eucharist; where Calvin brought Servetus to the stake, and the Bernese Reformers beheaded Gentilis, for opinions scarce more heterodox, on the Trinity, than those of Whiston and Dr. Samuel Clarke;—through that whole region, not only the Trinity, but every doctrine at all connected with it, the superior nature of Christ, the

* Among these, is Paulus, who, in his Commentary, asserts, that Christ did not really die, but suffered a fainting fit. One of the fathers of Rationalism, Semler, held the Resurrection to be a sort of poetic mythus, which was to be received in some moral or allegorical sense; and Wegschneider says, that though Christ *seemed* to the bystanders to expire, yet, after a few hours, being given up to the sedulous care of his friends, he returned to life on the third day.

Mr. Pusey looks upon it as one of those symptoms of a returning reverence for Christianity which he is sanguine enough to perceive in the present state of the Germans, that the doctrine of the Resurrection has resumed its place in their creed. "Many," he says, "I heard of, others I saw in Germany, who had formerly been cold Rationalists, but who were now in different degrees approximating to the fulness of Christianity. From the stage in which the one great miracle of our Saviour's Resurrection was held as the basis of Christian revelation, from this stage onwards there was progress.—*Historical Inquiry.*

† "The ministers of Geneva," says a Protestant writer, Grenus, "have already passed the unchangeable barrier. They have held out the hand of fellowship to Deists and to the enemies of the faith. They even blush to make mention, in their Catechisms, of Original Sin, without which the Incarnation of the Eternal Word is no longer necessary."

Rousseau, in his Lettres de la Montagne, gives much the same account of the Genevese of his own time:—"When asked," he says, "if Jesus Christ is God, they do not dare to answer. When asked, what mysteries they admit, they still do not dare to answer. . . . . A philosopher casts upon them a rapid glance and penetrates them at once,—he sees they are Arians, Socinians."

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Personality of the Holy Spirit, the Incarnation,* the Atonement with its attendant mysteries, have all, by the great mass of Protestants, of all denominations, been cast off, as fictions and absurdities, from their creed.

"Finally,—to close and crown this series of striking contrasts, which the Germany of the nineteenth century presents to the Germany of the sixteenth and seventeenth, —I need but point to the extraordinary coalition which has, within these few years, taken place between the two principal creeds into which the Reformation in its first progress, branched. Of all Churches, perhaps, that ever existed, the most fiercely intolerant has been the Lutheran,†—not only in persecuting, imprisoning, and even excluding from salvation, as heretics,‡ the members of her sister Church, the Reformed or Calvinist, but also in nurturing within her own bosom such a nest of discord § as had never before been engendered by theologic hate, —Ultra Lutherans, and Melancthonians refusing each

* We find clear work made of all these mysteries by a German divine, Cannabich, who, in a "Review of the ancient and new Dogmas of the Christian Faith," coolly sets aside the Trinity, Original Sin, Justification, the Satisfaction of Christ, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, as taught in his own Church. This levelling divine, (who held one of the highest dignities in the Lutheran Church) thus speaks of the Trinity:—"The dogma of the Trinity may be removed, without scruple, from religious instruction, as being a new doctrine, without foundation and contrary to reason; but it must be done with great circumspection, that weak Christians may not take scandal at it, or a pretext to reject all religion!"

† "De toutes les sectes du Christianisme," says Rousseau, with just severity, "la Luthérienne me paroît la plus inconséquente. Elle a réuni comme à plaisir contre elle seule toutes les objections qu'elles se font l'une à l'autre. Elle est en particulier intolérante comme l'Eglise Romaine; mais le grand argument de celle-ci lui manque; elle est intolérante sans savoir pourquoi."—*Lettres de la Montagne.*

‡ Thus, a learned Professor, Fecht, in a work, "De Beatitudine Mortuorum in Domino," expressed his opinion that all but Lutherans, and *certainly* all the Reformed, were excluded from salvation. But to Lutherans he asserted that the term "der Selige," or "died in the Lord," ought in all cases to be applied, even though they had led notoriously ungodly and profligate lives, and on their death-beds had not given the least indication of repentance.—*See Mr. Pusey's Historical Inquiry.*

§ Among the instances of Lutherans persecuted by Lutherans, I shall only enumerate Strigel, imprisoned three years for maintaining that man was not merely passive in the work of his conversion,—Hardenberg, deposed and banished from Saxony for only *approximating* to the Reformed doctrines on the Communion,—Peucer, Melancthon's son-in-law, imprisoned ten years, for espousing the cause of his father-in-law's followers, and Cracau, put to the torture for the same Anti-Lutheran offence.

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other the rites of communion and burial,*—Flacianists against Strigelians,—Osiandrians against Stancarians,†—each of these parties hating its opposite as inveterately as all agreed in detesting their common enemy the Calvinists. Yet this very Church, born, as it was, and nursed in discord, till strife seemed the very element, the principle, of its existence, has, within these few years (thanks to the becalming power of Rationalism) sunk quietly into coalition with its ancient foe, and now shares amicably with it the same temples, the same ministers, and the same Sacraments!‡

"To the Eternal glory of reason, the world now beholds the edifying spectacle of two religions once so mutually hostile, that each would have freely granted salvation to be attainable any where but within the hated pale of the other, now quiescently subsiding into a partnership of belief,—with creeds simplified, it is true, on both sides, to so rational an extent, as to leave them, even were they so disposed, but few dogmas to dispute about,§ and with

* The origin of this controversy was the extravagant assertion of Flacius, that "original sin was the substance of human nature."

† By Osiander it was maintained, that our justification through Christ was derived from his *divine* nature solely, while Stancarus ascribed the work of justification to his *human* nature alone. Thus did these "graceless bigots fight:" for ever in extremes, and for ever in the dark.

‡ One of the compromises by which this strange union has been effected is not a little curious. The Lutherans had been accustomed, like the Catholics, to use a small wafer, *whole;* the Calvinists bread, which they *broke*. They now use, in common, a large Lutheran wafer, which is broken, like the Calvinistic bread.

We have here a type, if I may so say, of the fate of German Protestantism altogether. It was respecting the *substance* in the Eucharist that these churches first fell into variance, and now a mere compromise as to the *wafer* has been sufficient to bring them together again! Well might the Abbé de la Mennais say, "*Le Protestantisme fatigue s'est endormi sur des ruines.*"

§ As a confirmation of all that is here stated by the Professor, I give the following passage from an English traveller, Mr. Jacob, who, in speaking of the reconciliation in question says, "This union is said to have spread still wider a spirit of indifference upon sacred subjects. The distinguishing tenet of the Lutherans, and that which is contained in their Symbolic Books, to which the clergy profess adherence, is the doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, in the bread and wine, in the Lord's Supper. This tenet, though it has been ever the profession of the Lutheran Church, has been long abandoned by almost the whole of its ministers. The Reformed, or Calvinistic ministers, had, like their brethren of the Lutheran party, little to give up. Their distinguishing tenets of predestination, election, perseverance, and impelling grace, were passed over in their public services, as obsolete dogmas never to be introduced, and it was generally understood that, for a century past, they have been scarcely en-

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that best and sole guard against dissension and craft, a freedom from all dark and uncharitable mysteries.

"To Zwingli who, both by the example and the rule which he held out in applying the touch-stone of common sense to the mystery of the Eucharist, was the main source, I again repeat, of all the consequences I have been describing, we are indebted for other bold lights, in the same adventurous track, which would yet more fully illustrate the working of his principle, but to which the extent this Lecture already has reached permits me barely to allude. The gloomy dogma of Original Sin,—an evident craft from Manicheism,—was among the doctrines discarded by this enlightened Reformer,* who, in rejecting the notion that Baptism washes away sin, denied that there is any original sin to wash away. As on the existence, too, of this innate corruption depends the necessity of a Redemption, we can little wonder at his adopting a scheme of salvation so comprehensive, that, according to his view, the great heroes and sages of Paganism are no less admissible to the glories of Heaven than St. Paul himself. In his Confession of Faith addressed, but a short time before his death, to Francis I., not content with assuring that monarch that he might expect to meet, in the assembly of the Blessed, such illustrious ancients as Socrates, the Scipios, the Catos, grouped, side by side, with Moses, Isaiah, and the Virgin Mary, he announces also, as part of the company, the demigods Hercules and Thesus, and at the head of all places Adam and Jesus Christ himself.

"I have already intimated that, during his life-time, some suspicion attached to Zwingli of being less orthodox, on the subject of the Trinity, than were most of his brother Reformers;† and though he succeeded, as we are

tertained by any considerable number of the clergy; so that the union which has been effected is not imagined to have had any other practical effect, but that of making the common people think religious worship, under any form, as much a matter of indifference as this union, thus easily effected, shows that different opinions are to their teachers."

* He held it to be a misfortune, a malady of man's nature,—not sin, nor incurring the penalty of damnation. "Colligimus ergo peccatum originale morbum quidem esse, qui tamen per se non culpabilis est, nec damnationis pœnam inferre potest."—*Tractat. de Baptism.*

† Calvin, too, was accused of heterodoxy, on this subject, by the Lutherans; and a book was published by Hutter, one of their most violent divines, to prove that Calvin "had corrupted, in a detestable manner, the most illustrious passages and testimonies in the Holy

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told, in vindicating himself, on this point, to Luther, I am inclined to believe, from the little ceremony with which, in so solemn a document, he classes the Saviour undistinguishingly with all this motley group of saints and demigods, that the suspicion of his heterodoxy, on the subject of Christ's divinity, was not without foundation. In truth, to a mind far less penetrating than that of Zwingli it could not fail to have been self-evident that the very same motive and principle on which he had acted in explaining away transubstantiation, namely, that all which is unintelligible should be held to be incredible, would lead, with equal certainty, to the overturn of the no less inexplicable enigma of the Trinity. It was on these grounds that the latter doctrine was attacked afterwards so successfully by Socinus; and the two strongholds of mystery having thus fallen before the summons of Reason, all those other inroads into the ancient territory of Faith, which it has been my object to point out to you, have followed naturally in succession."

CHAPTER XLVI.

Reflections.—Letter from Miss * *.—Marriages of the Reformers.—Œcolampadius.—Bucer.—Calvin and his Idoletta.—Luther and his Catherine de Bore.—Their Marriage Supper.—Hypocrisy of the Reformers.—Challenge at the Black Bear.—The War of the Sacrament.

Those among my readers to whom, from their previous unacquaintance with the subject, the picture that has

Scriptures, relating to the most glorious Trinity, to the Godhead of Christ, and the Holy Spirit."

The grounds of this charge against Calvin, are to be found in the view taken by that Reformer of some of those prophecies and types of the Hebrew Scriptures, which are, by most Christians, regarded as having reference to Christ, but which Calvin, anticipating the system of the Rationalists, applied solely to the temporal condition and prospects of the Jews. In noticing this mode of interpretation, (which Professor Scratchenbach might have cited, among his instances of the *rationalizing* spirit of Protestantism) Mosheim thus speaks:—"It must, however, be observed that some of these interpreters, and more especially Calvin, have been sharply censured for applying to the temporal state and circumstances of the Jews, several prophecies that point to the Messiah, and to the Christian dispensation in the most evident manner; *thus removing some of the most striking arguments in favour of the divinity of the Gospel.*"

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just been given of the present state of Protestantism in Germany, comes with the same shock of novelty as it did, I confess, to myself, can alone form any adequate notion of the wonder, the incredulity, with which I listened to that summing up of the Protestants' creed of unbelief (as it is hardly a solecism to call it,) which has been reported faithfully, as it fell from my instructor's own lips, in the concluding portion of his Lecture.

I had, it is true, been sufficiently prepared by my knowledge of the earlier heresies,—those elder branches of the dark family of Simon Magus, the Valentinians, Marcionites, &c.,—to expect all possible freaks of belief from a free, uncontrolled range of Reason through the Scriptures. But that I should find *un*belief resulting, to such an extent, from the same license of private judgment, was, though an equally natural consequence, by no means so clearly foreseen by me; nor could I help now recalling to mind the remark of a clever Protestant writer,—a remark which, when first I happened to light upon it, struck me as bordering on the extravagant, but to whose truth the fate that has attended Christianity, in the very *father-land* of the Reformation, bears but too awful a testimony,—namely, that "*the first step of separation from the Church of Rome, was the first step to infidelity.*"*

So incredible, however, did some of the details of this new *negative* code of Christianity appear to me, that I resolved to satisfy myself, by direct reference to some of the Professor's authorities, as to how far dependence might be placed on his very startling statements. With this view, declining, for a time, the honour of any farther lectures from him, I applied myself sedulously to the study of all such Rationalist writers as were likely to aid me in forming a judgment respecting the nature of their system.

In this task, however, I was, before long, interrupted by a letter from Miss * *, in which, mixing up, as usual, sentiment and theology together, she entreated, as a spe-

* *Extracts from the Diary of a Lover of Literature.*—The intelligent author of this work, Mr. Green, lived in habits of intimacy with some of the most eminent men of the last half century. It is in speaking of Dryden's poem of "The Hind and Panther," that he says, "His Hind demonstrates—what I have often thought, but tremble to express—that the first step of separation from the Church of Rome, was the first to infidelity."

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cial favour, that I would collect, for her Album, all such particulars as were on record, respecting "those heaven-favoured women, who, in the first dawn of the Reformation, enjoyed the enviable distinction of being the wives of Reformers, and thus participating in the affection and sweetening the toils of the first labourers in that great and most goodly vineyard."

Though my own romance on the subject had considerably abated, I lost no time in performing, to the best of my ability, this commission of my fair friend, whose exceeding zeal in all matters of theology, (whatever might be her knowledge of them,) entitled her fully to the eulogy passed by Boussuet on a learned Réligieuse of his time: "Il y a bien de la théologie sous la robe de cette femme."

Beginning with Œcolampadius, the early friend of Erasmus,* who was the first priest that took advantage of that era of liberty to provide himself with the lay luxury of a handsome young wife, I proceeded regularly through the list of all those who were induced to follow in so inviting a path. "Œcolampadius," says Erasmus, in one of his letters, "has taken to himself a wife—a pretty young girl: he wants, I suppose, to mortify himself. Some call Lutheranism a tragedy; but I call it a comedy, where the distress generally ends in a wedding."

Even the stern Calvin was not proof against this "primrose path of dalliance;" but, on the death of one M. de Bure, an Anabaptist, whom he had converted, kindly followed up this spiritual service by espousing his widow.†

Martin Bucer, who had been originally a Dominican friar, no sooner cast off his frock than he set about marrying, like the rest,—"et même *plus* que les autres," says Bossuet, as it was the friar's good fortune to become the husband of no less than three ladies in succession; one of whom (still more to heighten the zest of wrong) had been a nun.‡ This extreme readiness to marry,—

* For the share which Erasmus was supposed to have taken in preparing the way for the Reformation, the Lutherans acknowledged their gratitude, by having a picture painted "in which Luther and Hutten were represented carrying the ark of God and Erasmus dancing before them with all his might."—*Critique de l'Apol. d'Erasme*, quoted by Jortin.

† The name of this lady was Idoletta.

‡ The nun is said to have borne him thirteen children. "C'eût été

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more especially on the part of ecclesiastic proselytes,—was regarded as a proof of heartiness in the cause of religious reform; while, on the other hand, any antiquated scruple at the thoughts of violating the most solemn vows, was held in suspicion, as a symptom of still lurking Popery.*

With this sort of evidence of good Protestantism, Martin Bucer was, as we have seen, amply provided; and one of his wives had been even more of a pluralist, in matrimony, than himself. By a singular run of good luck, too, this lady's marriages lay all in the Reforming line;—her first husband having been Ludovicus Cellarius; her second, the famous Œcolampadius, who had been a Brigittine monk; her third, Wolfgang Capito, one of the most active of the Reformers; and her fourth, the Dominican friar, and helping Apostle of the English Reformation, Martin Bucer. Knowing that the career of this fair promoter of Protestantism would be sure to interest my friend, Miss * *, exceedingly, I took care to set it forth as much in detail as my materials would allow of; pointing out particularly to her notice the sentimental incident of Œcolampadius' widow becoming also, in succession, the widow of his two most esteemed colleagues, Capito and Bucer.

Nor was the liberality of these Reformers, respecting marriage, confined solely to their own particular cases, but extended even more indulgently to the matrimonial propensities of others; and while three wives in succession were deemed by Bucer a sufficient privilege for himself, he allowed to the Landgrave of Hesse, in consideration of his great services to Protestantism, the right, somewhat less customary among Christians, of having *two* wives at a time. The Memorial addressed by this Prince to the Reformers, stating his reasons for requiring

dommage (says Bayle) qu'une fille si propre à multiplier fût restée dans le couvent."

* "Ce que M. de Meaux observe qu'en ce tems-là le marriage étoit une recommendation dans le parti, n'est pas entièrement faux; car il est certain qu'un ecclesiastique, qui ne se seroit point marié, eût fait naître des soupçons qu'il n'avait pas rénoncé au dogme de la loi du Célibat. Je crois que Bucer insinua cette raison à Calvin lorsqu'il le pressa de se marier."—*Bayle.* So much was this the case at that period, that the visiters appointed in the reign of Edward the Sixth exhorted all ecclesiastics to marry, as a sure sign of their abjuration of Popery.

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such a luxury, and the Dispensation granted, in consequence, signed by Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer,* in which they allow to this great patron of their faith the additional wife he requires, form together as curious specimens of the *morality* of a religion of reason as an inquirer into the history of such creeds could desire.

But the great hero and heroine of my "Loves of the Reformers," were the mighty Martin himself and his fair Catherine de Bore. Commencing from the memorable Good Friday, when this lady, with eight other nuns, escaped, under the care of Leonard Koppen, from her convent,† showed how early Luther evinced that strong interest in her fate which led eventually to their union. For, not only did he defend Koppen's achievement, in carrying off the nine nuns, but even compared it ‡ to that of Christ himself, in carrying away the Saints captive to Satan.

In tracing the history of the destined wife of Luther through the interval between this elopement and her marriage, I took care to avoid even an allusion to any of those scandalous, and, as it would seem, false stories re-

* He assured them that a second wife was quite necessary to his conscience, and that he would thereby be enabled "to live and die more gaily for the cause of the Gospel!"

In Bossuet (*liv.* 6.) and Bayle (*art. Luther*) the reader will find all the particulars of this most disgraceful transaction, which, from the secrecy with which it was managed by the parties, remained for a long period unknown, till, at last, the publication of the curious documents connected with it, by the Elector Palatine, Charles Lewis, revealed the whole to the world. The motives of the three leading Reformers concerned in it for this most profligate concession are thus shrewdly touched on by Bayle; who, after giving some extracts from the Landgrave's Memorial, or instruction, continues, "Il joignit à tout cela je ne sai *quelles menaces et quelles promesses, qui donnerent a penser a ses Casuistes;* car il y a beaucoup d'apparence que *si un simple gentilhomme les eut consultes sur un pareil fait il n'eut rien obtenu d'eux.* On peut donc s'imaginer raisonnablement *qu'ils furent de petite foi: ils n'eurent pas la confiance qu'ils devoient avoir aux promesses de Jesui Christ;* ils craignirent que si la Réformation d'Allemagne n'étoit soutenue par les Princes qui en faisoient profession, elle ne fût etouffée."

† The example of these nuns was followed by another batch, consisting of double the number, who, soon after, made their escape from the Monastery of Wedersteten.

‡ It is but fair to say, that the reporter of this blasphemy is Cochlæus, who, from his exceeding violence against Luther, must be regarded as rather suspicious testimony. The following are the words in this writer:—"Felicem raptorem sicut Christus raptor erat in mundo quando per mortem suam . . . . . et quidem opportunissimo tempore in Pascha quo Christus suorum quoque captivam duxit captivatem."

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lated by Maimbourg, Varillas, and others, respecting her conduct among the young students of Wittenberg. The curious circumstances, however, leading immediately to the marriage, I was enabled to give authentically as stated in those MSS. left by Luther's friend, Amsdorf, to which Seckendorf had access. From these it appears that Miss Catherine had, in a conversation with Amsdorf, complained that it was Luther's intention to marry her, against her will, to Doctor Glacius. She, therefore, begged of Amsdorf, knowing on what intimate terms he lived with Luther, to try and prevail upon his friend to choose some other husband for her; adding, that she was ready, at a minute's notice, to marry either Amsdorf or Luther himself, but on no account, Doctor Glacius.*

On this hint the Great Reformer spake; and, with a rapidity unexampled, (as if the vows pledged to keep them asunder but made them more impatient to come together)—Miss Catherine de Bore became, almost on the instant, Madame Luther. Without a single hint of the matter to any of his friends, he invited a party to supper, consisting of the bride, a priest, a lawyer, and a painter,—the last attending professionally, as well as the others, being summoned to take the fair Catherine's portrait,†—and in this apostolical manner was solemnized a marriage, which, for a time, filled the ranks of Protestantism with dismay.

The deep concern of his friend, Melancthon, at this

* Venit Catherina ad Nicolaum Amsdorffium, conqueriturque se de consilio Lutheri D. Glacio contra voluntatem suam nuptiis locandam: scire se Lutherum familiarissime uti Amsdorffio; itaque rogare ad quævis alia consilia Lutherum vocet. Vellet Lutherus, vellet Amsdorffius se paratam cum alterutro honestum inire matrimonium,—cum D. Glacio nullo modo.—*Seckendorf. Comment. de Lutheranismo.*

This whole plan does much credit to the ingenuity of Miss Catherine, who was already well aware how much Luther admired her. There had, indeed, from the display and notoriety of the Reformer's fondness for her, arisen rumours not very creditable to either of the parties. To these rumours he himself alludes, in one of his letters:—"Os obstruxi," he says, "infamantibus me cum Catherina Borana;—and his warm advocate, Seckendorf, states without any reserve, that "he had wished exceedingly for the girl, and used to call her his Catherine:"—'Optimè enim cupiebat virgini et suam vocare Catherinam solebat."

† The name of this painter was Carnachius, and an engraving from the best of his portraits of Catherine, was prefixed by M. Mayer, to his Dissertation "de Catherinâ, Lutheri Conjuge," for the express purpose of clearing Luther from the imputation of having married a *pretty* woman.

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unseasonable event—his own consciousness of the shame and humiliation he had incurred, by a step, which, as he himself bitterly said, would, he hoped, "make angels laugh and all the devils weep,"*—the reaction that followed so closely upon this feeling of degradation, and the violent effort by which, regaining his own esteem, he soon succeeded in persuading himself that, after all, the finger of Providence was manifest in the whole affair, and it was "God himself that had suggested to him to marry that nun, Catherine de Bore"†—all these various struggles between conscience and passion afforded me scope for such alternations of light and shadow, as, in the Memoir of a wedded Monk and Nun, could not fail to be turned strikingly to account.

To give a domestic interest, too, to the story, I took care to mix up with it a number of conjugal details, showing how happily, through all the war of creeds, this holy *menage* went on, and how much attached to his "girl," as he fondly called her,‡ the great Reformer continued to the last. With her, indeed, was always associated in his mind whatever he considered most precious and sacred; nor could he, more satisfactorily to himself express his ardent admiration of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (his favourite portion of all Scripture) than by saying that "he had wedded himself to that Epistle, and that it was his Catherine de Bore."§

The reader has by this time, I trust, come to know me somewhat too well to suppose that, light as may have been the tone in which I dwelt on these details, I was at all insensible to their true and gross nature, or could feel

* Sic me vilem et contemptum his nuptiis feci, ut angelos ridere et omnes dæmones fiere sperem.—*Epist. ad Spalat.*

† *Dominus me subito aliaque cogitantem conjecit mire in conjugium* cum Catherina Borensi moniali illa.—*Epist. ad Winces. Linc.* Even Melancthon, too, brought himself to think (or, at least, to say) that it was possible there might be "something hidden and divine" under this marriage:—"Isto enim sub negotio fortasse aliquid occulti et quiddam divinius subest!"—*Epist. ad Camerar.* Can infatuation or hypocrisy—for it must be one or the other—go farther?

‡ In boasting that the "wise men" of his party who were so angry at his marriage, had been themselves forced to acknowledge the finger of God in the event, he thus expresses himself:—Vehementer irritantur sapientes inter nostros: rem coguntur Dei fateri, sed personæ larva tam meæ quam puellæ illos dementat.—*Lutheri Epist. ap Sechend.*

§ Epistola ad Galatas est mea Epistola cui me despondi—est mea Catherina de Bora.

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otherwise than deeply disgusted at the scenes of vulgar self-indulgence and nauseous hypocrisy which this whole drama, to a near observer of the chief actors in it, exhibits. It was, indeed, with some difficulty, I contrived to hide, under a thin surface of pleasantry, (such as any other eyes than those of my learned instructress would have seen through,) the feeling of loathing with which I traced these mock Evangelists through their career,—with which I followed them to their homes, and through all their haunts and habits, and saw them come flushed from their "Table-talk," and their thrice-transmitted wives, to tread down, like dogs and swine, the "holy things," and "pearls" of the Faith.

The historian Hume has truly characterized the first Reformers as "fanatics" and "bigots;" but with no less justice might he have added, that they were (with one exception, perhaps,*) the coarsest hypocrites;† men, who, while professing the most high-flown sanctity in their writings, were, in their conduct, brutal, selfish, and unrestrainable; who, though pretending, in matters of faith, to adopt reason as their guide, were, in all things else, the slaves of the most vulgar superstition; and who, with the boasted right of judgment for ever on their lips, passed their lives in a course of mutual crimination and persecution, and transmitted the same warfare as an heir-loom to

* The one exception here made by my friend can be no other, of course, than Melancthon; yet, it would be difficult, on considering the career of this amiable, but most irresolute man, to acquit him wholly of, at least, the duplicity of disguising his true opinions and lending the sanction of his countenance to measures which he disapproved. The sole circumstance of his upholding, in public, as correct documents of faith, both the Confession and the Apology, which he yet, in his private letters, mourns over, as containing errors and obscurities which it was most essential to amend, is, in itself, so culpable a sacrifice to the headlong spirit of party as nothing but the remorse which he himself felt for it can at all palliate or atone. It is true, his position was most trying; and but too aptly did he compare himself to "Daniel among the lions," as never was gentle spirit surrounded by such uncongenial associates. But his approval of the atrocious crime of the burning of Servetus—how is this to be palliated? It was but in character for such men as Bucer and Farel to demand that the doubter of the Trinity should "have his bowels pulled out," should "die ten thousand deaths;"—but Melancthon!

† To this charge Bucer himself, the most hypocritical of the whole band, pleaded guilty. In a letter written to Calvin, during the victorious career of Charles V., he says, "*God has punished us for the injury which we have done to his name, by our long and most mischievous hypocrisy.*"

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their descendants. Yet, "These be thy gods," oh, Protestantism!—these the coarse idols, which Heresy has set up in the niches of the Saints and Fathers of old, and whose names, like those of all former such idols,* are worn, like brands, upon the foreheads of their worshippers.

How any Protestant that has ever examined, even but slightly, into the disgraceful history of that long series of wranglings, equivocations and frauds, which the attempt to understand, or rather to mystify, each other, on the one single doctrine of the Eucharist, gave rise to among the Reformers, can be content to have received his faith, at the hands of innovators at once so double-dealing and so clumsy, is to me a marvel unspeakable. The very commencement of this Sacramentarian warfare resembled far more the preliminaries of a horse-race than the solemn preparation for a controversy by which the faith of millions yet unborn was to be influenced. "I defy you," said Luther, haughtily, to Carlostadt, "to write against me on the Real Presence; and will even give you this gold florin, if you will undertake to do so." In saying thus, Luther took from his pocket a florin, which Carlostadt accepted and deposited in his own. They then shook hands on the challenge, and swallowing down a bumper to each other's healths, the War of the Sacrament was thus, in the true German style, declared.†

The scene of this memorable interview was at the Black Bear, where Luther lodged; and in such manner was it that the ineffable and adorable Mystery, which the Saints of other days knelt to, as "the hidden Manna" of salvation, "the wisdom of God in a mystery," was started, as fit game to be hunted down, by this pair of challengers at the Black Bear!

* From the very beginning of the Christian church this adoption of names derived from men,—such as Marcionites, Arians, Donatists, Lutherans, Calvinists, &c. has invariably been the badge of heretical strife and schism; some saying that they are of Paul, others that they are of Apollos, and others that they are of Cephas. "The Apostles," says Ephrem of Edessa, "gave no names; and when it is done, there is a departure from their rule."

How aptly may the words of St. Augustine to the Donatists be applied by a Catholic of the present day to that swarm of Calvinists, Arminians, Socinians, &c. who are opposed to him:—"*I am called Catholic; you are with Donatus.*"—Ego Catholica dicor et vos de Donati parte.—*Psalm. contra part. Donati.*

† *Luther. T. 2. Jen.* 447. *Calix. Judic. n.* 49. *Hospin. 2 par. ad ann.* 1524. See note at the end of the volume.

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So much for the decency of those new apostles of Christianity;—for their consistency, tolerance, good faith, and wisdom, let the whole history of that most disreputable controversy speak. In the very first attempt of the Lutherans at a regular Confession of Faith, no less than six different explanations of their doctrine respecting the Eucharist (each announced as positively for the last time of explaining) followed in quick succession; while the counter explanations on the Sacramentarian side, were almost equally numerous.

Then came the wily and tortuous Bucer, as a mediator between the parties,—a mediator, by affecting to agree with both,—a reconciler, by misrepresenting each to the other; now inducing Luther to think that Calvin concurred in a Real Presence of Christ's body, while Calvin meant but some vague presence to the eye of faith, and in the sky; now persuading Calvin that Luther admitted the substance present to be spiritual, while, on the contrary, Luther held, as do the Catholics, that the miraculous presence in the Sacrament is spiritual only as to the manner, but corporeal as to the substance.

By such tricks and evasions did Bucer,—and, it is painful to add, Melancthon,—succeed in maintaining, for a time, a false and feverish truce between the parties. But arts so gross could not long continue to deceive; all compromise was found to be hollow and hopeless, and, at last, the three great Eucharistic factions, the Lutheran, the Calvinistic, and Zwinglian, all broke loose in their respective directions of heresy,—each branch again subdividing itself into new factious distinctions, under the countless names of Panarii, Accidentarii, Corporarii, Arrabonarii, Tropistæ, Metamorphistæ, Iscariotistæ, Schwenkenfeldians, &c. &c. &c.—till, to such an extent did the caprice of Private Judgment carry its freaks, on this one solemn subject, that an author of Bellarmine's time (as that great man informs us) counted no less than two hundred different opinions on the words, "This is my body!"

But the whole history of that period abounds with lessons full of melancholy warning; nor can any thing more strikingly impress us with the infatuation or ignorance of those persons who still cry out for "the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible," than thus to see that the very men who first raised that cry, and who held the

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Bible to be all-sufficient for the discovery of divine truth, could yet fall into all this fierce and interminable discord about the meaning of a text consisting but of four simple words!

CHAPTER XLVII.

Blasphemies of the Rationalists.—Sources of infidelity in Germany.—Absurdity of some of the Lutheran doctrines.—Impiety of those of Calvin.—Contempt for the authority of the Fathers.—Doctor Damman.—Decline of Calvinism.

It required no very long or deep study of the chief oracles of Rationalism to convince me fully that, in the Professor's description of the present awful state of Protestantism in Germany, he had by no means exaggerated or over-coloured his picture. On the contrary, I found that his statements, however incredible they had at first appeared, were but a faint and diluted representation of the truth; and that, while, from the fear perhaps of giving alarm to so mere a neophyte in the school of Rationalism, he concealed from me more than half of the impieties of the system, he had also, for the honour of his supreme sovereign, Reason, thrown a veil over all its feebleness and its folly.

Had I wanted any thing, indeed, to prove, to my fullest conviction, how wholly misplaced is reasoning, on a subject where, if feeling and faith be not alive, all else is "of the earth, earthy," I should have found it in the pitiful exhibition which these men, otherwise so acute and learned, afford in their attempts to bring down the grand and awful wonders of Christianity to the level of their own finite and low-thoughted reason; nor between the example which they present of irreverent boldness, on such subjects, and the most stupid and superstitious acquiescence under belief, is there much more to choose than between the ass of the Egyptians, carrying gravely the Mysteries, and the same ass, in a fit of liveliness, trampling them clumsily under his feet.

With the more plausible features of that mere phantom of Christianity, which still wears the abused name

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of Protestantism, in Germany, the reader already has become acquainted from the sketch given of its rise and progress by M. Scratchenbach; and, to go into details of the profane excess to which the system has been carried, would be a task, even had I left myself space for it, neither agreeable nor useful. To give some notion, however, of the tricks, in the way of theology and *exegesis*, which Fancy, under the demure mask of Reason, can play, I shall here string together, at hazard, a few of the leading results at which these inquirers into "the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible," have arrived.

In the Old Testament, the history of the Creation, of Paradise, and of Adam and Eve, are nothing but allegories or mythi. The Pentateuch, which may be looked upon as a sort of "Theocratic Epic," was not written by Moses, but compiled at a much later period; and Jehovah was but the Household God, or Fetiche, of the family of Abraham, which David, Solomon and the prophets afterwards promoted to the rank of Creator of all things. It is plain that Deuteronomy could not have been the work of Moses, nor Ecclesiastes that of Solomon, as, in each case, it would suppose the author to have related his own decease. The Psalms were a sort of Anthology to which David and other writers contributed; and the productions of the chief contributor are thus criticised by a grave theologian, Augusti: "David's Muse takes no high flight, but he succeeds best in Songs and Elegies." By critics of the same school Esther is pronounced to be an Historical Romance, while Ruth, they say, was written for the purpose of proving David to have sprung from a good family, and the story of Jonah is but a repetition of the fable of Hercules swallowed by a sea-monster. As to the Prophets, the learned Eichorn allows them the credit of having been sharp, clever men, who saw farther into futurity than their contemporaries; while others, assigning to them a decided political character, "make them out," says Mr. Rose, "to be demagogues and Radical Reformers." The Prophecy, in Isaiah, of the Fall of Babylon, was evidently written by some one who was present at the siege; and the predictions, supposed to refer to Christ, in the same rhapsodies, relate to the

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fortunes and ultimate fate of the race of Prophets in general.*

In the New Testament, the miraculous birth of Christ is to be ranked in the class of mythologic fictions, along with the stories of the incarnations of the Indian gods,—and more especially that of Buddha's generation from a Virgin who had conceived him by a rainbow. The motive of Christ for giving himself out for a Prophet was that he might thereby have more weight, as a moral teacher; and, in like manner, he was induced, afterwards to personate the Messiah† from the notion entertained by his admirers that he was that promised personage. According to Wieland, Jesus Christ was a noble Jewish magician,‡ who on his own part, never conceived the least idea of being the founder of a Religion, and whose *Institute* only assumed the form of religion by time. Much of the obscurity, it is said, in which the doctrines of the New Testament are involved is owing to the stupidity and superstition of the Apostles, who misunderstood, in many instances, the language of their master,§ and whose gross misconception of his promises, as to a future kingdom, involved him in difficulties with his followers, from which he saw no other way of extricating himself honourably but by death.‖

* "There is a book by Scherer (a *clergyman* in Hessee Darmstadt,) in which he represents the prophets of the Old Testament as so many Indian jugglers, who made use of the pretended inspiration of Moses and the revelations of the prophets to deceive the people."—*Rose's State of Protestantism in Germany.*

† Jesum personam Messiæ suscepisse.—*De Wette.*

‡ A Prussian Rationalist has even improved (in the retrograde direction) upon this notion of Wieland. "Il existe (says Stapfer) un livre publié en Prusse, dans des intentions pieuses, et dont le titre dit plus que les plus longs dévellopemens historiques ne pourroient apprendre à ceux qui aiment à douter encore de l'empire des opinions Rationalistes en Allemagne; la voici.—*Jesus Christ fut-il autre chose qu'un simple rabbin de campagne Juif?*" *Archives du Christianisme.*

§ Etsi enim Apostolorum, innocentiam, integritatem, pietatem, fervorem et ἐνθουσιασμον ea, qua par est, veneratione agnoscimus, dissimulare tamen non possumus fuisse eos non solum variis superstitionibus et falsis opinionibus imbutos, sed tamen indociles quoque et tardos, ut si Jesus paulo obscuriore loquendi genere uteretur, eum prorsus non intelligerent.—*De Wette, de Morte Jesu Christi Expiatoria.*

‖ Voluit Jesus, veterum prophetarum more, morte sua doctrinæ veritatem profiteri, sperans fore ut difficultatibus quibus, se vivo, pressam videbat, morte sua superatis, victric tamen illa evaderet, et vanis Messiæ opinionibus destructus, in hominum animos vim suam salutaseem exsereret.—*De Wette.*

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It is painful thus to repeat,—even for the purpose of denouncing them,—profanations and blasphemies at once so daring and so frivolous. But a Reverend Protestant has not shrunk from recording them in his pages, and a Catholic has, at least, one less reason for being ashamed of them

The original source of all this flood of irreligion by which Protestantism has been swept away in Germany, and even Christianity herself seen her "foundations overflown," has, in the foregoing lecture of my German instructor, been clearly and irrefragably pointed out; nor is he a less valuable authority for the true source of the evil, because by a perversion of moral vision, he regards it as a good, and, in the false pride of Illuminatism, even glories in results, over which every thinking Christian, of all sects, must mourn.

In one respect only can the view taken by the Professor of the causes of this great religious revolution be considered partial or imperfect. In the wish to claim for his favourite Zwingli the whole honour, as he deems it, of having, by the principle which he first applied to the interpretation of Scripture, led the way in this desecrating and unchristianizing system, he has failed to do justice to the share which both Luther and Calvin contributed, in their several ways, to the same lamentable result; nor, in showing how Zwingli set the example of undermining Christianity by the anti-mysterious and naturalizing cast of *his* doctrines, has sufficiently pointed out how his brethren of Geneva and Wittenberg conduced exactly to the same end by the absurdity of *theirs*.

We have already seen how revolting were some of those notions of Luther which, adopted, as they were, in all the wantonness of self-will, by himself descended afterwards, under the abused name of doctrines, to his

In considering what was the particular reading adopted by Christ of a passage in Daniel which he *accommodated* to himself, this writer coolly discusses our Saviour's qualifications, for the task of interpreting the Old Testament,—saying that, though he could not of course, be expected to know the new Grammatico-historical mode of interpretation, still it was impossible he could be so neglectful of the true meaning of the passage as to understand it in the manner attributed to him: —"Is enim in lectione Vet. Testamenti, licet *nostræ* exegeseos grammatico-historicæ rudis, contextus tamen non adeo negligens se potuit, ut locum, &c. &c."

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Church. Of one of these, the Ubiquity of the human nature of Christ, an extravagance that has no parallel in the whole range of Gnosticism,—its author himself had, towards the close of his life, seen reason to be ashamed; and, with his usual caprice, as well in dictating as in countermanding doctrines, had, in some of his later writings, wholly abandoned the notion. Already, however, had his name hallowed even this nonsense to his followers;—the Ubiquity had become a part and parcel of Lutheranism, and, as such, was to be maintained and wrangled for with the rest.

It was, in fact, *not* as articles of belief, but as badges of party, that any of these monstrous extravagancies were clung to so obstinately. Torn up, as was the Lutheran Church, into a multiplicity of schism, every such dictum of their founder became the Shibboleth of a faction, and the more inconceivably absurd was its nature, the more desperate the fidelity with which it was defended. That this is no unfair or distorted representation of that Church, the pages of Mr. Pusey,—the historian, as he may be called, of the Decline and Fall of German Protestantism, —but too sufficiently testify. It is only surprising, indeed, that the reaction, in favour of insulted reason, to which, at last, this war of wordy sectarianism gave rise, did not much earlier take place, and most lamentable that they who, disgusted with this abuse of the name of religion, rejected the motley creed from whence such discord sprung, did not seek refuge at once in the haven of the ancient Church of Christ, whose "peace is as a river," instead of breaking off, it is to be feared, irrecoverably, into the vague void of Unbelief,—that sea without a shore!

The course of the Calvinistic branch of Protestantism in Germany was, in many respects, different from that of the Lutheran. Owing to their freedom, for a longer period, from fixed formularies of doctrine, there existed in their Church a far more comprehensive scheme of communion than among the Lutherans; and having less, therefore, of the exclusive spirit of formularism in their theology, they were proportionally more tolerant. They had, indeed, a spectacle for ever before them, in the rabid rancour of the sister Church towards themselves, which, though insulting and irritating, was, for the most

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part, by its outrageous absurdity, far more calculated to inspire disgust than any desire to retaliate. Such an amiable direction had the family feeling between these two heresies taken that, by Lutheran preachers, the title of Antichrist was transferred from the Pope to Calvin, and in Lutheran liturgies one of the petitions was, "Repress the Turks, Papists, and Calvinists."*

But though it may be granted that the Reformed Church, as compared with the Lutheran, set an example far more becoming a Christian community, there was, on the other hand, in its whole spirit and principles, even more deeply laid mischief, and a still more unerring source of such demoralizing and Antichristian consequences as we see exhibited in the present state of continental Protestantism. Not to dwell farther on that rule of scriptural interpretation, so pliant for all purposes, which Calvin, alike with Zwingli and Socinus adopted, and which places the meaning of God's word at the mercy of man's sense, the very foundation of the creed of Calvinism involves notions of a Supreme Being the most disturbing, if not fatal to all genuine piety. If, as Hooker declares, "the seed of whatever perfect virtue groweth from us is a right opinion touching things divine," alas for the growth of virtue or charity in those who seek their model of "things divine" in the God of the Calvinists,—the deliberate pre-ordainer of sin and ruin,—the Author of man's existence, temptation, and fall!

That most ancient and most melancholy of all mysteries, the Origin of Evil, must, as long as man suffers and thinks, continue to occupy, however needlessly, his mind. But to attempt to conjure up doctrine out of such a "mist of darkness,"—to speculate on the unrevealed decrees of God, and look for light where Himself has willed there should be none, is a task presumptuous as it is shadowy, vain as it is daring; and which, by mixing up the speculations of philosophy with religion, introduces an element into the latter which never fails to explode, to its ruin. So aware were the Gnostics, in the midst of all their re-

* "In Swedish Pomerania, *where there were no reformed*, an order from the local authorities, suspending declamations against them, and erasing from the Liturgy the petition, 'Repress the Turks, Papists, and Calvinists,' was annulled by application to Stockholm; and the intermarriage of a Lutheran with a Reformed declared inadmissible." —*Pusey, Historical Inquiry.*

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veries, of the danger of holding forth a Supreme God as the author of evil, that they had recourse to the supposition of an inferior and malevolent Deity, on whom to rest all the responsibility of that mass of moral evil which the more impious Calvinist traces up to the one God himself!

Nor is it merely in the rash impiety of this doctrine that its mischief to the cause of Christianity lay, but also in the contempt for Christianity's earliest teachers which Calvin's adoption of it implied; he himself having avowed that, on this point, the Fathers of the three first centuries were opposed to him, and his more violent followers, Gomarus and others, even admitting that they were unsupported in it by Scripture.

The whole history, indeed, of the Predestinarian doctrine, from its first introduction by St. Augustine, is a subject well worthy of study, as enabling us to track the course of so dark an error, through all the stages of its progress, growing more and more bloated and virulent as it advances, till, at last, bursting with its own venom, it gradually dies away. Such, very nearly, has been the course and fate of the dark doctrine of Calvinism. Beginning, in a comparatively mild form with St. Augustine,—who himself had commenced with far other opinions, and was only led by the heat of controversy to lay the foundations of Calvinism,*—it assumed, in the scheme of the Genevese Reformer, a more rigid and damnatory shape; received some gloomier touches from his followers, Beza and Zanchius, and from thence on, deepening still its hue, as it passed through the hands of the fierce Francker divines, reached the full consummation of its blasphemy and absurdity, under the auspices of the well-named Doctor *Dam-man*,† at the memorable Synod of Dort.

* When St. Augustine opposed the Manichæans (who held, with the Calvinists, that there are souls *necessarily* wicked,) he advanced doctrines wholly different from those which he afterwards took up in opposition to Pelagius; and this latter *party* opinion has been his bequest to future times;—inflicting thereby an injury on Christianity (for even the Catholic Church did not wholly escape the infection) far greater than all his labours in her service can ever compensate. In rejecting Jansenism—an innoculation of this virus—from her Communion, the Church of Rome has got rid of the only slight taint of heresy that, in her course, "immortal and unchanged," the Milk white Hind has ever known.

† This Dr. Damman was one of the secretaries to the Synod, and

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At that point, however, the glory of Calvinism may be said to have touched its meridian, and the moment of complete triumph was but its first step towards decline. Even the Dutch, whose divines had principally contributed to this victory over common sense, refused, in most instances, to submit to the yoke of the victors; and, with that nimbleness which has ever characterized the Proteus, Protestantism, were seen gliding away from the grasp of orthodoxy in the various forms of Universalists, Semi-Universalists, Supralapsarians, Sublapsarians,—like that model of the reforming spirit, to which I have just alluded,—

Nec te decipiat centum mentita figuras,
Sed preme quicquid erit; *dum quod fuit ante, Reformet.*

In Geneva, the very cradle of all those monstrous doctrines which had been now decided, by the Maccoviuses and Dammans,* to be the true Christian and Protestant faith, that reaction which has since developed itself so signally, began already to appear; and the same recoil from fanaticism and absurdity which made her then *almost* Arminian, has since, in its farther and natural operation, made her *all but* infidel.

of course an upholder of the high Dort doctrine that "none of the truly faithful can by any sins fall from the Grace of God."—Nulli verè fideles per ulla peccata possunt ex gratia Dei excidere.—*Damman. in Concordia.*

* Of the frightful opinions of Maccovius and other Dort theologians I have already given some samples. One of the memorable decisions of this Synod was that "the children of unbelievers dying in their infancy are reprobate as well as their parents."—Infantes infidelium morientes in infantiâ reprobatos esse statuimus.—*Act Synod. Dord.* This humane enactment is but a consequence of the same principle on which Predestinarians hold that the infants of godly persons are in the covenant of grace, together with their parents, and have therein "a federal interest." The following is the impiously familiar manner in which the draft of agreement, as it may be called, for this covenant between God and the seed of believers is drawn up by one of the theologians of the sect:—"They (the infants) have true, real and proper interest and propriety in God. As they are *his*, so he is theirs. There is a mutual propriety and interest in each other. *They have God under an actual obligation*, viz. of his promise, to *improve and employ all his attributes for their good, benefit and advantage, according or in a way agreeable to the true tenor of the covenant* and of the various promises of it. They have a present interest in and right to salvation; and *answerably, in case of their death, before a forfeiture be made of that their interest and right, they shall infallibly be saved.*"—*Whiston's Primitive Doct. of Inf. Bap. revived.*

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In England, where, at this period, both Court and People were casting a "lingering look behind," towards their Mother Church,* and where the authority, therefore, of the Fathers (bound up, as it is, essentially with Catholicism,) was regarded still with reverence, a system of doctrine so avowedly opposed as was that of Dort to those early oracles of the faith could hope for no very favourable reception. From that period, indeed, the Church of England may be said, in the words of the ever-memorable Hales,† to have "bid John Calvin good night:"—and though my German Lecturer, in contrasting Calvin with Luther, assumed that the sectaries still bearing the name of the former maintain also his doctrines, it will be found that Calvinism, though still far from being (like its sister heresy, Lutheranism) extinct, has for a long time been shorn of its most baleful beams; insomuch that for one rigid adherent to the reprobatory branch of the creed of Geneva, there are now numbers of professed Calvinists who confine their belief to the sole doctrine of Election,‡ rejecting more charitably, I must say, than logically, its concomitant and consequence, Reprobation.

Such, rapidly traced, has been the course and fate of the two leading branches of the original Protestant creed; both dwindled away to mere shadows in those countries where they first took their rise,—or rather superseded there by a system hardly pretending to be Christian,—while, the only one of the two that still exists, in more than name, has abandoned all that constituted originally its essence, and, in England, is chiefly indebted for its

* "I acknowledge (said James I., in a public speech to his Parliament, 1603) the Church of Rome to be our Mother Church."

† This candid and simple-minded man went to Dort a Calvinist, but "at the well-pressing (as he himself tells us) of St. John, iii. 16, by Episcopius,—'there (says he) I bid John Calvin good night.'"

‡ "I am aware (says Bishop Tomline) that some persons now living who seem to glory in the name of Calvinists maintain the doctrine of Election and reject that of Reprobation. That this was not the system of Calvin himself will fully appear by the quotations from his works; and that it was not the system of the Calvinists at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign will be equally evident from the first of the Lambeth articles, &c." *Refutation of Calvinism.*

"Many Calvinists, both at home and abroad, including the principal American divines, reject the second leading article of the Calvinistic creed, and hold Universal Redemption."—*Adams' Religious World Displayed.*

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distinctive character to that party spirit, which a Church, fenced round by human formularies, is always sure to generate.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Rise of infidel opinions in Europe, soon after the Synod of Dort.—Lord Herbert, Hobbes, Spinoza.—Beginnings of Rationalism among Calvinists.—Bekker, Peyrère, Meyer.—Lutheran Church continued free from infidelity much longer than the Calvinist.

The main object which I had in view, in the historical sketch given in the preceding chapter, is to show that, in the reaction produced among Protestants themselves, as well by the impious and irrational consequences of some of their own doctrines, as by the unchristian intolerance with which those doctrines had been enforced, lay one of the chief sources of that infidelity by which their churches have since been deluged.

In farther confirmation of this remark, we shall find that it was but a short time after the monstrous decisions of the Synod of Dort,* that scepticism began openly to display itself, among professed Protestants, in different countries of Europe. It was then, in that dawn of the era of Rationalism, that Lord Herbert of Cherbury asserted the sufficiency and absolute perfection of the Religion of Nature;—that Hobbes anticipated the German theologians of the present day in questioning the authenticity

* "By way of argument to the following story, you will permit me to remind you that the Contra-remonstrants in the Synod of Dort condemned the lax opinions of the Remonstrants, concerning Original Sin and Free Will.

"Two of their divines (Contra-remonstrants) elated with victory, insulted a poor fellow who was a Remonstrant, and said, 'What were you thinking of with that grave face?' 'I was thinking, gentlemen,' said he, 'of a controverted question—Who was the author of sin? Adam shifted it off from himself and laid it to his wife; she laid it to the serpent; the serpent, who was then young and bashful, had not a word to say for himself; but afterwards, growing older and more audacious, he went to the Synod of Dort, and there he had the assurance to charge it upon God!'"—*Letters from the late Lord Chedworth to the Rev. Thomas Crompton.*

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of the Old Testament and the divine authority of the New, and even let fall those seeds of doubt as to the existence of a Supreme Being, which, in the gloomy mind of his contemporary, Spinoza, soon ripened into Atheism.

Already, too, at that same period had a school of Divines, under the name of Rationals, appeared whose principle it was to apply the touch-stone of reason to religion, and reject all that was not conformable to that capricious test.* It is also confirmatory of what I have above remarked as to the share Calvinism had in producing these results, that Predestination was the very first doctrine on which these Socinians in disguise opened their batteries. As might be expected, too, it was among Calvinists that the reaction against their own creed commenced; and thus has the same sect, by a fate common to all heresies, given birth to the opposing extremes,—both to the fanaticism which first ingrafted such errors on Christianity and the infidelity which tore up tree and graft together.

One of the first of these Calvinist sceptics was Bekker, a Dutch divine, who, attempting the same sort of alliance between Philosophy and Religion which has been the means of bringing Christianity to its present state in Germany, employed the principles of Descartes to undermine some of the leading doctrines of Scripture. The account of the temptation of our first parents, the agency of good and evil spirits, the demoniac possessions in the New Testament, and the temptation of our Saviour, were among the chief points on which this Rationalist divine exercised his scepticism; and while his master, Calvin, besides that demoniac principle which he supposed lodged in every human breast, admitted also the direct influence of the Devil on human actions, his follower, Bekker, denies all agency of the Devil whatever, and (forestalling the shallow device of our modern Rationalists, so much as to leave them not even the credit of originality in wrong) resolves all those passages in the Old and New Testament, where the interposition of the Evil Spirit is described, into mere allegory and mythos.

To another Calvinist writer, still earlier, (1655) the annals of Rationalism are indebted for a book which, though

* See an account of this school of Theologians in Bayle's *Reponse aux Questions d'un Provincial*, c. 130.

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now long forgotten, produced on its first appearance, such an explosion of indignation as could with difficulty be brought to stop short at the mere imprisonment of the author. Of this strange work* the main object is to prove from the fifth Chapter of St. Paul to the Romans, that there had existed nations and races of men before Adam, and that he was but called the first man, because with him the Law commenced.

In the course of his pretended proofs of this hypothesis, the author (a French Protestant, Peyrère) suggests solutions of some of the miracles of the Old Testament which approach nearer even than those of Bekker to the plain but clumsy mode of interpretation adopted by Paulus and other moderns. For instance, it was not necessary, he says, that the sun should retrograde because the shadow of the dial was put back for Hezekiah. Whatever miracle there was in the circumstance must be confined to the dial of Ahaz alone.†

In the same manner, the sun standing still for Joshua was nothing more, he thinks, than that sort of optical delusion which is common in most hilly countries, at sunset, when, though the sun has gone down, its orb appears to be still stationary in the heavens.‡ The miracle in Deuteronomy of the clothes and shoes of the Israelites having been kept from "waxing old," during their forty years in the wilderness, this author ridicules in almost the very same terms which were employed afterwards by Voltaire for the same purpose;§ and the whole mira-

* *Præadamitæ sive Exercitatio super versibus* 12, 13, 14, *cap* 5, *Epist. Paul. ad Romanos.*

† Ponatur miraculum in horologio ipso, in horologio Achas, ut vult Scriptura; stabit miraculum suo loco—stabit natura suo ordine, nec fascinabitur intellectus præstigiis inanibus.

‡ Fulgor solis, sine sole ipso, et miraculo maximo superesset in atmosphærâ, vel regione vaporum illâ, quæ civitati Gabaonicæ, cæli et aëris medio, incubabat: Solis verò fulgor civitatem Gabaonicam et montem Gabaon verberaret, &c.—The author adds that he himself had often witnessed the same phenomenon among the mountains of Quercy, where he dwelt.

§ Quod de calceamentis eorum itidem dejerant, nullâ unquam vetustate fuisse consumpta, atque adeò ubi primum induxissent calceos infantibus crescentibus infantum pedibus, crevisse eorum calceos.—"Non seulement (says Voltaire) les habits des Hebreux ne s'usèrent point dans leur marche de quarante années, au soleil et à la pluie, et en couchant sur la dure, mais que ceux des enfans croissaient avec eux, et s'élargissaient merveilleusement, à mesure qu'ils avancaient en age."

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cle is, he thinks, to be accounted for by the supplies of materials for making clothing which the Israelites derived from their flocks and other natural sources. From the plea set forth by this author in defence of his own impiety,—that he had been led to such doctrine "by *the principle of Protestants*,"—we may see how clearly, even at that time, the natural tendency of Protestantism to gravitate towards infidelity, was not merely prognosticated, but felt.

There is yet another work of the same period, (1666) which both its title and the circumstance of its being republished by Semler, sufficiently announce as one of the harbingers of that infidel school of which Semler was the founder. I allude to the once celebrated work, "Philosophy, the Interpreter of Scripture," which, on its first appearance, was attributed to the notorious Spinoza, but proved afterwards to have come from the pen of his friend and physician, Lewis Meyer.

In subtlety as well as in mischief, this Amsterdam Rationalist was a fit forerunner of the present race of Protestant sceptics; and the following specimen of his work will at once show its insidious nature, and prove,—what frequently I have endeavoured to impress upon my reader, —the great triumph it has been for infidelity, by the avowal of infidels themselves, to have been able, by philosophizing away the mystery of the Real Presence, to open a way for the subversion of all mysteries whatever. "There are (says this pupil of Spinoza) three Mysteries, of which Philosophy alone can properly be the interpreter; and these are, 1. God,—2. the Real Presence, —3. the Trinity. The second of these, the Reformed Church has already disposed of,—showing, by the aid of Philosophy, that her own opinion, on the subject, is the true one, and that of the Catholics and Lutherans, absurd." With a silence, then, but too significant, as to the first of the three Mysteries on his list, he proceeds to apply to the third the mode of philosophizing which had been so successful with the second.*

* Of the discussion, respecting the mystery of the Trinity, he says—"Quanto sanè satius fuisset illam pro mysterio *non* habuisse, et philosophiæ ope, antequam *quod* esset statuerent, secundum veræ logices præcepta, *quid* esset cum Cl. Kekkermanno investigasse."

That the absurdities of theology have been, at all times, the food

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Having traced thus far the progress of that Anti-christian principle, which deriving its origin from the very foundations of Protestantism itself, has since branched out in a multiplicity of names and shapes, and is, at this moment, under its most recent and apparently last disguise, employed in spiriting away the substance of Christianity, in every country where the Reformation has taken root, I shall now, for the farther descending steps of the pedigree of this principle, more especially in that country where its effects are most conspicuous, refer to the pages of a writer whose authority I have frequently had to adduce, Mr. Pusey. The ability and research with which this gentleman has traced, through all its stages, that "gradual descent (as he expresses it) of Theology into a a system of unbelief," which marked the course of the German Church, during the eighteenth century, can admit of no dissentient opinion. It is only to be regretted that, by confining himself exclusively to the Lutheran branch of Protestantism, he has lost the still stronger illustrations of his subject which the career of Calvinism would so strikingly have supplied; and it is, in some measure, to remedy this very important omission that those instances of the progress of Rationalism among Calvinists, which I have just laid before the reader, were collected.

There would be no difficulty, indeed, in showing that, from the very first, a disposition to unbelief was far more prevalent among the members of the Reformed Church than of the Lutheran; and the names of Lælius Socinus, Gentilis, Ochinus and others prove how early Geneva began to produce its natural fruits. Without ascending any higher, however, than the middle of the seventeenth

and fuel of scepticism cannot be more clearly proved than by the use which this writer makes of the monstrous notion broached by some Protestant divines, that God intentionally gave double meanings to some of the precepts of his Word, and rather *wished* that they should be misunderstood by those to whom he addressed them. Such is the doctrine advanced in a passage of Wolzous which he cites:—"Quandoque Deus, ut dubios et suspensos relinquat, vel ipsos eos, quos sufficienti gratiâ spiritus donavit, ut quæcunque ex illâ tunc oratione hauriri possint, eliciant, non tamen omnem eliciant veritatem: orationem enim volvat et revolvat centies, sit vacuus præconceptis opinionibus, omnia examinet, quæ usus linguæ requirit, ut intuenti textum nil appareat esse neglectum, *noluit tamen hoc tempore intelligi Deus, imo voluit permittere ut aliquantisper erraretur.*

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century, we have seen that at a time when the Lutheran Church was still immersed in all the absurdities of its theology,—wrangling, tooth and nail, *against* Good Works and *for* the Ubiquity of Christ's manhood,—the process of reasoning away all Christian doctrine whatever had already commenced among the Calvinists;—that long before any of those critics and scholars were born, to whom Mr. Pusey assigns the first origin of Rationalism, its most distinguishing features and principles had been anticipated; and that the very subject of Demoniacal Possessions, upon which Semler commenced his rationalizing career, had been turned by Bekker to the same sceptical purposes more than half a century before.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Return to England.—Inquiry into the history of English Protestantism.—Its close similarity to the history of German Protestantism.—Selfishness and hypocrisy of the first Reformers in both countries.—Variations of creed.—Persecutions and burnings.—Recantations of Cranmer, Latimer, &c.—Effects of the Reformation in demoralizing the people.—Proofs from German and English writers.

They show, or, at least, used to show, in the library of the Abbey of St. Anthony, in Dauphiné, an original letter of Erasmus,* in which that great man declares that he would sooner suffer himself to be cut to pieces than not believe in the reality of the body and blood in the Sacrament. Without pretending to more of the spirit of a martyr than I am likely to be called upon to exercise, and confining my heroism, too, within bounds proportionate to the immense distance between my humble self and Erasmus, I shall here merely communicate to my reader that I had now come to the magnanimous determination to prefer Popery and poverty, for the remainder of my days, to the alternative of Protestantism and £2000 a year, with Miss * *, at Ballymudragget.

* *Voyage Litteraire de deux Religieux Benedictins.*

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After remaining some months longer in Germany, I prepared to set out for England,—having passed the latter part of my time in society much more suited to my tastes than that of the Scratchenbachs of the University, namely, some quiet and intelligent Catholic families, whom I found in the midst of this wreck of all other creeds, pursuing tranquilly and implicitly the very same paths of faith which their Church has now trodden for near two thousand years. It is, indeed, a most impressive spectacle, which the state of Germany, at this moment, presents; divided,—according to Mr. Southey's concise and pithy description,—"between the old religion, on one side, and the new *irreligion* on the other."*

The sagacious prediction of Bayle, that a day would yet arrive when the Lutherans, no longer finding their creed in the Augsburg Confession, would "put all matters again on their former footing," is now in a fair train for accomplishment; as already numbers of Protestants, disgusted at the unchristian mockery of their own miscalled churches, have embraced the faith of Rome, with every prospect of their example being still more extensively followed. It is, in fact, the alarm produced by these desertions to the Catholic Church, that has chiefly caused that apparent reaction, in favour of Christianity, which has been, of late, observable in Germany, as well as those retractions of their former blasphemies which the De Wettes and Bretschneiders have, with so little appearance, I must say, of sincerity,* been hastening to proffer to the public.

On my arrival in England, finding my taste for theological reading return, I was glad to avail myself of the few months of leisure I had yet at command, and immediately proceeded to inquire into the state and history of Protestantism in that country, quite as zealously as I had pursued the similar line of study in Germany. Not that there hung even the *penumbra* of a doubt round the con-

* *Colloquies, &c.*

† Though professing, as it seems, to recant their former sceptical notions, both these writers have republished, and with but little alteration, the very works which contained them; and in the Preface which De Wette has prefixed to the second edition of his "De Morte Expiatoriâ, &c." we find little more than a sort of apology for his unchristian assertion, that "Jesus took upon himself to personate the Messiah."

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clusions at which I had now arrived; but, having carried thus far the researches which I had been induced to enter upon, it was naturally my wish to collect such materials, respecting the English Church, as would enable me to complete the Panorama of Protestantism which I had commenced. Having now, however, nearly filled up the canvas which I had allotted for the sketch contained in these volumes, I must reserve the picture which I had prepared of the English Reformation for some future opportunity.

In the meantime, I shall here briefly call attention to a few ominous resemblances, which, on comparing the course of English with that of German Protestantism, could not but strike me as existing strongly between them,—so strongly as scarcely to warrant even a hope that two systems so kindred in their origin and tendencies could lead, ultimately, to any other than kindred results. The same selfishness and hypocrisy which marked the movers of the German Reformation, are seen but in more intense and revolting activity among the founders of the same faith in England.* The high stations, indeed, of the principal actors on the latter scene, gave proportionately more impulse and opportunity to such vices; and, while in Henry VIII. we find all the temperament of a Luther let loose, as it were, upon a throne, so in Cranmer all the suppleness and hypocrisy of a Bucer were, by the constant demands upon him for these qualities, multiplied a hundred fold.†

Even the subservience shown by the Reformers of both

* The writer of an article in the Edinburgh Review, upon Mr. Hallam's admirable work, the Constitutional History, thus truly describes the founders of the English Reformation:—"A king, whose character may be best described by saying, that he was despotism itself personified: unprincipled ministers; a rapacious aristocracy; a servile parliament. Such were the instruments by which England was delivered from the yoke of Rome. The work which had been begun by Henry, the murderer of his wives, was continued by Somerset, the murderer of his brother, and completed by Elizabeth, the murderer of her guest."—*Edinburgh Review.*

† It is not a little curious to observe that, in the same manner as the violence and intolerance of Luther were inherited amply by his church, so the hypocrisy and servile spirit of Cranmer have survived to this day in that establishment of which he was a founder; and in no instance, perhaps, has the hypocritical taint, thus entailed, been more strikingly exhibited than in those vindications of his (Cranmer's) own character, which, in defiance of all truth and decency, even such respectable divines as the Rev. Mr. Todd think themselves bound, for the sake and interests of their order, to undertake.

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countries to the gross passions of their royal patrons will be found to have been marked by the same comparative degrees of baseness; for while, on the one hand, the licentious bigamy of the Landgrave of Hesse,—licentious, but at least bloodless,—received the sanction, under their own signatures of Luther, Bucer, and Melancthon, on the other, the murderous marriages of Henry VIII. were not only connived at, but concerted, by those still more obsequious tools of Royal Reformation, Cranmer and Cromwell.*

The changes of doctrine through which, in both countries, the new creed had to transmigrate, form another of those points of resemblance which force themselves on our attention; and, as if, even then, the founders of Protestantism had a sort of prescient consciousness that their Church, in "fame of instability," would rival even Delos,† a provision for future changes, accordingly as occasion might require, was expressly stipulated for by Melancthon, and, in England, formed the subject of that prospective declaration to which the obedient bishops of Henry VIII. did not hesitate to pledge themselves.

That among the first English Reformers there should have been so little of that contentious spirit which rendered theology such an arena of discord among the Germans, is a fact easily, but disgracefully, to be accounted for by the self-prostration of the English Church before the throne, which left her no will or opinion but at the beck of the monarch, no alternative but to believe whatever he dictated, and be silent.‡

To the same slavish self-abasement, is to be attributed that facility in recanting and abjuring which some of the most eminent of the English divines, by frequent practice, acquired: the specious Cranmer having subscribed

* The writer of the article in the Edinburgh Review, above referred to,—an article written with a power of thought and style which leaves no doubt as to the masterly hand from which it came,—thus speaks of Cranmer:—"Intolerance is always bad; but the sanguinary intolerance of a man who thus wavered in his creed creates a loathing to which it is difficult to give vent without calling foul names. Equally false to political and to religious obligations, he was first the tool of Somerset, and then of Northumberland. When the former wished to put his own brother to death, without even the form of a trial, he found a ready instrument in Cranmer," &c. &c.

† —— Nec instabili famâ superabere Delo.—*Stat.*

‡ So far did the Church of England carry the slavish principle on which she commenced her course, that, on the death of Henry VIII., Cranmer surrendered his archiepiscopal authority to the infant monarch, and received it back at his hands.

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no less than six recantations; while Latimer even exceeded, by two or three, that number. Still more disgusting was the spectacle which these dissemblers presented in acting as persecutors for the cause which in secret they hated, and condemning wretches to the flames for opinions with which, in their hearts, they agreed.

In this monstrous combination of insincerity with cruelty, lies the distinction between the English and Helvetian persecutors; for, though these latter champions of the right of private judgment condemned Servetus to the flames, and sent Gentilus and Gruet to the block, it was, at least, for opinions which they themselves held to be heretical and impious. But the code of persecution had yet to furnish a still more notable precedent; and for those Saints of the English Church, Latimer and Cranmer, it was reserved to sit as accessaries to the burning of Christians for opinions which they, the burners, approved!

While such were the moral fruits of the Reformation, as displayed in its leading authors and teachers, the effect which it produced on the people at large could not be expected to have been of a more salutary character. Accordingly, the descriptions given by eminent Protestant writers, both English and German, of the state of morality in their respective countries, during the first century of this great change, bear, upon every essential point, such similarity to each other, as leaves not a doubt of the common origin of the evils of which they complain.

To begin with the Germans.—Throughout the writings of the admirable Andrea, a man, who, to use the language of Herder,* "bloomed like a rose among thorns," we find the most bitter complaints of the flagrant corruption of his times. "Idols," he says, "have been cast out, but the idols of sins are worshipped. The primacy of the Pope is denied, but we constitute lesser popes. The bishops are abrogated, but ministers are still introduced or cast out, at will. Simony came into disrepute, but who now rejects a purse of gold? The monks were reproached for indolence,—as if there were too much study at our Universities. The monasteries were dissolved,—to stand empty, or to be stalls for cattle. The regularly recurring prayers are abolished,—yet so that now most pray not at all. The public fasts were laid aside,—now the com-

* Quoted by Mr. Pusey.

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mands of Christ are held to be but useless words; not to say any thing of blasphemers, adulterers, extortioners, &c."* Another writer, Walch, acknowledges that "the complaints of the sunken state of Christianity, and the corruption of the clergy, were not exaggerated;" and Carpzoff, in speaking of the efforts of the pious Spener to amend "the stiff-neckedness of that godless age," says, "I praise the attempt, I add my wishes; but I despair of success, on account of the desperate depravity of these last times."

By the side of these strong testimonies to the demoralizing effect of the Reformation in Germany, I shall here place two passages, describing its results in England, from no less authorities than Camden and Burnet:—"Sacrilegious avarice," says Camden, in speaking of the time of Edward VI. "ravenously invaded Church livings, colleges, chantries, hospitals, and places dedicated to the poor, as things superfluous. Ambition and emulation among the nobility, presumption and disobedience among the common people, grew so extravagant, that England seemed to be in a downright frenzy."†

"Not less strong, to the same purport, is Burnet:—"This gross and insatiable scramble after the goods and wealth that had been dedicated to good designs, without the applying any part of it to promote the good of the gospel, the instruction of the poor, made all people conclude that it was for robbery, and not for reformation, that their zeal made them so active. The irregular and immoral lives of many of the professors of the gospel gave their enemies great advantage to say, that they ran away from confession, penance, fasting, and prayer, only to be under no restraint, and to indulge themselves in a licentious and dissolute course of life.‡ By these things, that

* In another place, Andrea says, "he who knows the avarice of the clergy and their unbridled life, will not be astonished that they no longer stand in that respect with the people which were fitting." If we may believe this pious and conscientious writer, Luther himself foresaw, or, rather, already experienced, the baleful consequences of the creed which he yet so rashly preached. "No complaints," says Andrea, "more often occur to me than those of that divine man (Luther) *who foresaw the license of the Evangelical Church*, and whose pen unconquerable by all his enemies, *almost sunk under the dissoluteness of his followers, and the specious pretext of the Gospel.*"

† *Camden, Introduction to the Annals of Queen Elizabeth.*

‡ Almost word for word, the very language employed by Bucer, in describing the effects of the Reformation in Germany.—See the passage extracted from his *De Regn. Christ.* p. 166 of this work.

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were but too visible in some of the most eminent among them, the people were much alienated from them; and, as much as they were formerly against Popery, they grew to have kinder thoughts of it, and to look on all the changes that had been made as designs to enrich some vicious characters, and to let in an inundation of vice and wickedness upon the nation."*

We have seen with what slowness and reluctance the great mystery of the Real Presence was surrendered by almost all the continental Reformers,—Luther himself, with all his efforts, being unable to cast it off,† and Melancthon, though, in his latter days, inclined to Sacramentarianism, yet leaving undisturbed in the Protestant formularies of faith, those affirmations of the ancient doctrine which his own hand had there recorded; while Calvin, in order to disguise the extent of his innovation, threw such ambiguity of phrase round his *rejection* of a Real Presence, as enabled Bucer to pretend that it was meant as an *acceptance* of it.‡

* *Hist. of the Reformation.*—To these undeniable testimonies may be added that of Strype:—"The Churchmen heaped up many benefices upon themselves, and resided upon none, neglecting their cures: many of them alienated their lands, made unreasonable leases, and wastes of their woods; granted reversions and advowsons to their wives and children, or to others for their use. Churches ran greatly into dilapidations and decays, and were kept nasty and indecent for God's worship. Among the laity there was little devotion;—the Lord's day greatly profaned and little observed; the common prayers not frequented. Some lived without any service of God at all. Many were mere heathens and atheists;—the Queen's own court a harbour for Epicures and atheists, and a kind of lawless place, because it stood in no parish."—*Life of Parker.*

† Luther became, indeed, even more Popish, on this point, before his death; and in a Thesis published by him against the Doctors of Louvain, in 1545, (but a year before he died,) called the Eucharist "the *adorable* Sacrament;" to the no small consternation of the Sacramentarians, whom he had delighted by abolishing the elevation, and whom, therefore, this inconsistent admission but the more thoroughly confounded. Calvin writes to Bucer on the occasion, "He has lifted up the idol in the temple of God."

‡ We find a similar style of mystification still resorted to by those few Protestant controvertists, who, in order to maintain some little consistency with the Church of England Catechism, affect to uphold a Real Presence. Thus, the theologians of the British Critic insist that "a Real Presence is the doctrine of the Church of England;"—while Mr. Faber talks of a change in the elements,—a *moral* change." All this, however, is but a mere stale repetition of the old trick of Heresy "speaking the same things, but meaning them differently," ὁμοια μεν λαλουντες, ανομοια δε φρονουντες. In such manner was it, as Irenæus tells us, that the first Gnostics proceeded,—using the same language with the orthodox Church, but thinking differently.

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A similar reluctance to part with this vital doctrine was manifested through a very long period in England. Under Henry VIII. the zeal of both monarch and church for its maintenance was shown by their burning all those who dared openly to dissent from it; and in the following reign, we find even the introducer of Zwinglianism, Peter Martyr, allowing, as Fox tells us, "a change of substance of bread and wine."*

In the reign of Elizabeth, who was herself supposed to favour this doctrine, a paragraph added to the 28th Article in the time of Edward VI., and declaring expressly against a Real Presence, was, by her desire, suppressed.† "She inclined," says Burnet, "to have the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament left in some general words, that those who believed the Corporal Presence might not be driven away from the Church by too nice an explanation of it."

Even at so late a period as during the reigns of James I. and his successor, the language of many most eminent Prelates, respecting this Sacrament, differed but little from that of Catholics themselves upon the subject. "We *adore*, with Ambrose,"‡ says Bishop Andrewe, "the flesh of Christ in the Mysteries." The same divine, addressing Bellarmine, and professing to answer as well for King

* At one of the disputations held between Protestants and Catholics, during the reign of Edward the Sixth, the Real Presence was asserted by the advocate of the Protestant cause, Mr. Perne, who said, "We deny nothing less than his presence, or the absence of his substance in the bread." At this disputation, Ridley presided.

† The following is the paragraph:—"Forasmuch as the truth of man's nature requireth that the body of one and the self-same man cannot be, at one time, in divers places, but must needs be in one certain place; therefore the body of Christ cannot be, at one time, in many and divers places, and because, as Holy Scripture doth teach, Christ was taken up into heaven, and there shall continue unto the end of the world, a faithful man ought not either to believe or openly confess the Real and Bodily Presence, as they term it, of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."

"In explaining the Protestant meaning of a Real Presence, Gilbert says, "In this sense, it is innocent of itself, and may be lawfully used: though, perhaps, it were more cautiously done not to use it, since advantages have been taken of it to urge it farther than we intend it."

‡ Nos verò in mysteriis Carnum Christi adoramus cum Ambrosio. *Answer to Bellarmine's Apology.*—When it is recollected that St. Ambrose upheld, in its highest Catholic sense, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the strength of this declaration of Bishop Andrews will be the more fully appreciated. See the extract which I have given from *Clarke's Ecclesiastical Literature*, vol. i. p. 88.—"In *doctrine*," says this learned Protestant writer, "St. Ambrose is all that Rome could wish him."

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James as for himself, says, "We believe a Presence no less true than that which you yourself believe."* Archbishop Laud drew from the Reality of the Presence a reason for reverence to the altar; as being, "upon this account, the greatest place of God's residence upon earth;" and Bishop Forbes declares it to be "a frightful error in those rigid Protestants who deny that Christ is to be adored in the Eucharist."† Thus, too, Bishop Cousin, in his History of Transubstantiation:—"Although it seems incredible, that, in so great a distance of place, Christ's flesh should came to us to be our food, yet we must remember how much the power of the Holy Spirit is above our understanding, and how foolish it is to measure his immensity by our capacity."‡

Still later, in the time of Charles II., we find, in the Exposition of the amiable and pious Bishop Ken, the fol-

* Præsentiam inquam, credimus, nec minus quam vos veram.—*Answer to Bellarmine.*

† Immanis est rigidorum Protestantium error qui negant Christum in Eucharistia esse adorandum nisi adoratione interna et mentali, non autem externo aliquo ritu, &c. &c.—*De Eucharist.*

‡ The testimonies of Hooker and Jeremy Taylor, on this subject, though well known, are of too much importance not to be added to the above authorities. "I wish," says Hooker, "men would give themselves more time to meditate with silence on what we have in the Sacrament, and less to dispute on the manner how. Sith we all agree that Christ by the Sacrament doth really and truly perform in us his promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions, *whether by consubstantiation, or else transubstantiation?*"—*Ecclesiastical Polity.*

The passage from Jeremy Taylor is of still more value, as being not merely a record of the opinion of so eminent a divine, on this point, but also a vindication of the Catholics from the charge of idolatry in their adoration of the Presence. "The object of their (the Catholics') adoration in the Sacrament is the only true and eternal God hypostatically united with his holy humanity, which humanity they believe actually present under the veil of the Sacrament; and if they thought him not present, they are so far from worshipping the bread, that they profess it idolatry to do so."—*Liberty of Prophesying.* It is usual to contrast with this passage of Bishop Taylor another, of apparently different import, from a later work of the same eminent man, entitled, "Dissuasive from Popery." But those who compare the laboured language in which his latter opinion is conveyed with the simple, clear enunciation of doctrine just cited, can little doubt as to *which* of the two passages they would select as the true record of his views. A man who expresses himself in the following scholastic fashion can hardly escape the suspicion of being actuated by a wish to deceive either himself or others:—"In calling it Corpus Spirituale, the word Spirituale is not a substantial predicate, but is an affirmation of the manner; though, in disputation, it be made the predicate of a proposition, and the opposite member of a distinction."—*Dissuasive from Popery.*

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lowing impressive sentences:—"Oh God Incarnate! how thou canst give us thy flesh to eat and thy blood to drink; how thy flesh is meat, indeed; how thou, who art in heaven, art present on the altar, I can by no means explain; but I firmly believe it all, because Thou hast said it, and I firmly rely on thy love and thy omnipotence to make good thy word, though the manner of doing it I cannot comprehend."

The Catholic belief of a sacrificial offering in the Eucharist was even more extensively, at the period of which I have been speaking, prevalent among Protestants; and, among others, the profound scholar, Joseph Mede, lent the high sanction of his authority* to this doctrine. In answering the famous Calvinist, Twisse, who had said that there was but little evidence for the Encharistic Sacrifice in antiquity, Mede asks, "*What is there in Christianity for which more antiquity may be brought than for this?* I speak not now of the Fathers' meaning (whether I guessed rightly at it or not,) but in general of their notion of a Sacrifice in the Eucharist. *If there is little antiquity in this, there is no antiquity for any thing.*" He then quotes, as confirmatory of his own opinion, the candid avowal prefixed by Bishop Morton to his work on the Eucharist,—"We freely acknowledge the fact that there is frequent mention made by the Ancient Fathers of the bloodless sacrifice of the body of Christ in the Eucharist."

Such attestations to the truth of the Catholic doctrine

* In maintaining a *proper* and *material* Sacrifice in the Eucharist, Mede was followed by another great scholar, in the same walk of learning, Doctor Grabe, who even composed a Liturgy, for his own use, in which the ancient prayer, founded on this doctrine, was restored. So great a concession to the Catholics could not but excite alarm among their opponents; and, accordingly, this opinion of Mede and Grabe was strongly censured, as an acknowledgment of the Sacrifice of the Mass, by Buddeus, Ittigius, Deylingius, and other continental divines.

Embarrassed thus between the fear of favouring Popery, on one side, and the irresistibly strong language of the Fathers, on the other, some of the most eminent of the English theologians, and, among others, Cudworth and Waterland, while they deny any proper or material Sacrifice in the Eucharist, go so far as to admit it to be a *symbolical* feast upon a Sacrifice; that is to say, (as Waterland explains it,) "upon the Grand Sacrifice itself commemorated under certain Symbols." Such are the pitiable evasions of evidence and authority to which Protestants are compelled, by their schismatic position, to have recourse!

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on this point, particularly from a Protestant so versed in Christian antiquity as Mede, cannot but be considered highly important;* and the following passage, from his letter to Twisse, contains, in a few pregnant sentences, the whole pith of what I have been endeavouring, throughout these pages, to inculcate:—"Yet, one thing more: *it is no time now to slight the Catholic consent of the Church in her first ages, when Socinianism grows so fast on the rejection thereof*, nor to abhor so much the notion of a Commemorative Sacrifice in the Eucharist when we shall meet with those who will deny the death of Christ upon the cross to have been a sacrifice for sin. —*Verbum intelligenti.* There may be here some matter of importance."

But, to return to my parallel.—The bitter discord between the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches which, if it did not produce, at least deepened and prolonged the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, finds no unapt counterpart in the long struggle between the Church of England and the Puritans, and that fierce civil war which ensued. This similarity, as well in causes as effects, on both sides, was not likely to escape the observation of Mr. Pusey, who, in showing how much of the irreligion of Germany is to be attributed to the English infidel writers of the seventeenth century, traces the origin of this infidelity, in England itself, to "the sunken state of Christianity through the civil wars, and the controversies of imbittered parties." Nothing, indeed, could well be more calculated to bring religion itself into disrepute, than thus to see two great nations torn up by internal faction and hate, on points of difference, to which, at this day, no rational mind can look back, without a mixed feeling of sorrow, ridicule, and wonder.

But, however absurd were most of the doctrines about which the German Churches wrangled so furiously, they

* So insurmountable is the evidence for the early date of the Sacrifice of the Mass, that Hospinian, the Protestant historian, is forced to attribute to the devil the introduction of such Popish abominations in the very lifetime, as he owns, of the Apostles themselves!—"Even in that first age," says this writer, "whilst the Apostles were still alive, the devil had the audacity to lie in ambush, under this Sacrament, more than under that of Baptism, and gradually seduced men from that primitive form." Sebastianus Francus, too, allows that, "Immediately after the time of the Apostles, all things were inverted,—the *Lord's Supper was transformed into a Sacrifice.*"

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were, at least, subjects of speculation, and, as opening a field for the gymnastics of argument, were, in so far, more respectable than those wretched points of strife so long contested between the Church of England and her Puritan opponents. Whether the clergy ought to wear linen surplices and caps;* whether steeples ought to be surmounted with weathercocks or crosses;† whether the altar should stand in the middle of the church, or altar-wise, with one side to the wall; whether it be becoming a good Christian to pay reverence to the altar,‡ to bow at the name of Jesus, or stand up at the Gloria Patri;§—

* There appear to have been some, even among the reverend sticklers on these points, who had the good sense to perceive the wretched nature of their warfare. Thus, in a Memorial presented to the Bishops by two deprived Dignitaries, Sampson and Humfrey, they "protest before God, what a bitter grief it was to them, that there should be a dissension between them for *so small a matter as woollen and linen*"—(meaning the cap and surplice.)—*Strype, Life of Parker.*

Not content with the disgrace redounding to themselves from such trifling, these divines, with the usual profaneness of party-theologians, were for enlisting God himself in their war about "woollen and linen." In a letter written by Bishop Sands, in 1566, he says, "Disputes are now on foot concerning the Popish vestments, whether they should be used or not; *but God will put an end to these things.*"

† In a letter to Peter Martyr, Bishop Jewel thus writes:—"The controversy about Crosses is now grown very warm. You would hardly believe how mad some, who seemed wise men, are in a foolish matter." He adds, farther on, "'Tis come to that pass, that the silver and tin crosses which we had every where broke down, must be set up again, or we must leave our bishoprics."

The queen (Elizabeth) was so far attached to the ancient faith as to wish to preserve some of these vestiges of it; and we are told by Heylin that one of her chaplains, "speaking less reverently, in a sermon preached before her, of the Sign of the Cross, was called to aloud by her out of her closet-window, and commanded to retire from that ungodly digression, and return to his text."—*Hist. of Reformation.*

‡ As a specimen of their mode of treating these points, I shall here give a few sentences from a pamphlet of that period, on the subject of reverence to the altar. In a treatise, entitled, "Reasons for bowing to the Altar," the author had contended, on the grounds afterwards taken up by Archbishop Laud, that "as the Chair of State is always to be honoured, though the person of the Royal Majesty be not seen there, so is God's Board ever to have due reverence, and God, who is there perpetually, is always to be bowed to," &c. &c. To this treatise an answer was published by some Puritan, in which are the following sentences. "First, therefore, let them prove that God hath and ought to have a seat in every Church." Again, "This gentleman must prove that God sits personally sometimes on the table." The conclusion to which the Puritan comes, at last, is, "Therefore, as God is always sitting on the table, they ought not to bow or do any reverence to it at all."

§ In a letter from the sturdy Puritan, Twisse, to Mr. Mede, he says, "You bade me stand up at *Gloria Patri;* and it was in such a tone too, that you had the mastery of me, I know not how. I profess I

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such were a few of the mighty questions at issue between the parties; such the levers of discord by which Protestant England was heaved from her very foundations!

At the same time that controversies like these were bringing ridicule on religion by their frivolousness, the Antinomian tenets,* then prevalent among all ranks, still more disgraced it by their immorality;† while, in that infinite power of subdivision into new sects and denominations, in which Protestantism, at all times, luxuriates, never did she half so unboundedly revel as at that truly sectarian crisis.‡ "England (says a preacher before the Commons, in 1647) was never so bad as in a time of Reformation. Witness the numerous and numberless increase of errors and heterodox opinions, even to blasphemy, among us! The world once wondered to see itself turned Arian. England may now wonder to see itself turned Anabaptist, Antinomian,§ Arminian, Socinian, Arian, Anti-

little looked for such entertainment at your hands. My wife's father, Dr. Moore, was Bishop Bilson's chaplain, and most respected by him of any chaplain that ever he had, and he a cathedral man, too; *but they could never get him to stand up at Gloria Patri.*"

* In a pamphlet published at that time by one Archer, called "Comfort for Believers in their Sins and Troubles," the doctrine originally held both by Luther and Calvin, that God was the direct author of sin, is thus boldly put forward:—"We may safely say that God is, and hath a hand in, and is the author of the sinfulness of his people." After quoting the opinions of some divines, who "have erred," as he says, "in making sin more of the creature and itself, and less from God than it is," he adds, "This opinion gives not enough to God in sin. Let us embrace and profess the truth, and not fear to say that of God which he in his Holy Book, saith of himself, namely, 'that of Him and from His hand is not only the thing that is sinful, but the pravity and sinfulness of it.'"

† What the effects of such tenets must be upon the minds of ordinary and ignorant persons may be concluded from their demoralizing influence upon those of a superior class. We are assured by Bishop Burnet (*Sum. of Affairs before Reform.*) it was the opinion of Cromwell that "the moral laws were only binding in ordinary cases; but that, upon extraordinary ones, these might be superseded,—he and that set of men (adds Burnet) justifying their ill actions from the practice of Ehud and Jael, Sampson and David."

Most truly has Dr. Hey asserted, in his Theological Lectures, that "the misinterpretation of Scriptures brought on the miseries of the Civil Wars."

‡ There was, in Cromwell's time, a Committee of the House of Commons appointed, to "consider of the *particular enumeration of damnable heresies.* What a Report it must have been!

§ Nothing can be imagined more ruinous to all true notions of religion and morality than was the doctrine of Justification, as asserted by the high Calvinists, of that period. All the worst consequences, indeed, that can arise from pride and cruelty united were sure to be engendered, in their most odious form, by a creed which held that there

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Scripturist, what not!—Alas, what were Ceremonies to these things but (as Calvin once called them) 'tolerabiles ineptiæ,' children's sport, in comparison! *How much less an evil was it, think ye, to bow at the name of Jesus than to deny, to blaspheme the name of Jesus?* (2 Pet. ii. 1.")

"Would it be believed (said the great Hebraist, Dr. Lightfoot,* who also preached before the House of Commons) that, in so short a time, after so solemn an obligation, and the Parliament that brought on the Covenant sitting, the Covenant should be so forgot as we dolefully see daily that it is? We vowed against *Error, Heresy and Schism*, and swore to the God of Truth and Peace *to the utmost* of our *power to extirpate them and to root them out.* These stones and walls and pillars were witnesses of our solemn engagement. And now, if the Lord should come to inquire what we have done according to this vow and Covenant, I am amazed to think what the Lord

was no one sin, however small, that did not deserve eternal torments, nor no number of sins, however great, that could deprive the Elect of eternal happiness.—See the small volume of Witsius, entitled *Animadversiones Irenicæ*, in which, whatever grace can be thrown round such blasphemies by the style in which they are stated, has been lent to them by the elegant Latinity of this writer. Among the high Calvinist doctrines of which, (though held, as he admits, by "Viri docti" of his sect,) Witsius himself disapproves, are the following—that God can see no sin in believers, that they contract no guilt by new crimes, nor can any crimes lie heavy on their consciences,—that David himself never complained of the weight of sin upon his mind, &c.—"Nec Davidem ex vero de peccati sibi incumbentis onere conquestum esse." Among the opinions which Witsius fully adopts are such as the following:—Because believers are just through the justice of Christ, *they are equally just with Christ himself*,—the justice of the Elect being the very justice itself of Christ. "Quia justi sunt per justitiam Christi, æque justos esse ac ipse Christus . . . . . quum justitia Electorum sit ipsissima Christi justitia."

The manner in which God's tolerance of the sins of the Elect is explained by these fanatics affords a highly characteristic sample of their presumption and impiety. God sees, they allow, the sins of believers, but does not see them with an eye to condemnation or punishment the stain still remains in his sight, but *without* the guilt.—"Non intuetur sic ut propter illa condemnare eos instituat . . . . . tollitur (peccatum) non quo ad maculum sed ad reatum." To illustrate this relative position of God and his Elect, Charnock compares it to an account book, in which the old score, though marked off, and no longer due, is still legible.—"Debitum tale legi fortasse potest; exigi non potest."

* We have here another instance of a profound inquirer into Christian antiquity bearing full testimony to the truth of a great Catholic tenet;—this learned man being of opinion, with the Catholics, that the keys were given to Peter exclusively of the other Apostles.

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would find amongst us. Would he not find ten schisms *now* for one *then*, twenty heresies *now* for one *at that time*, and forty errors *now* for one *when we swore* against them?"

The very same results, both as regards the distracting varieties of heresy, and the corrupting influence of Antinomian doctrines, appear from the avowals and lamentations of most of the eminent writers of Germany, to have taken place at the same period in that equally sect-ridden country. Indeed, the parallel between the two cases is in this instance, as in most others, complete. "The Church of God (says a German writer quoted by Walch) is surrounded with a thousand troubles; the wolves are quartered in the fold; almost every one now opposes the truth; and by false preachers the world is deceived. The Anabaptist's guile, the Quaker's demure mood, the Chiliast fanaticism, and Böhme's giddy spirit begins, in these times, again to renew itself. The Pietist crew storms in perforce. These, these are they who would regenerate the world by their false holiness, who bring God's house into ten thousand ills, and sow in God's field the filth of Belial."

"The doctrine of justification by faith alone (says the pious Spener) is a holy doctrine, and we should not think it too much to shed our blood for it. But when the great careless multitude so shamefully abuse it, that, even while continuing in sin and its service, they still console themselves that they shall attain eternal life by faith alone, will live and die in dependence upon this,—then is such doctrines (which many entertain in order that they may still indulge their fleshly mind and their careless security) not a true but a false doctrine; for it is a shameful perversion of the truth. . . . . And so it is with other points. So that we have not only ground to complain of evil lives, but that, with all these discourses about faith, very little faith is left, nay that most are wholly ignorant what faith is."

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CHAPTER L.

Parallel between the Protestantism of Germany and of England continued.—Infidel writers.—Sceptical English Divines—South, Sherlock, and Burnet.—Extraordinary work of the latter.—Socinianism of Hoadly, Balguy, Hey, &c.—Closing stage of the Parallel.—Testimonies to the increasing irreligion of England.

Such a course of affairs, moral and theological, as I have been describing, could not but lead in the end to fatal results; and though of the two countries destined thus to one common fate, Germany has been the more rapid in reaching the catastrophe, England was the first to feel and give the downward impulse. The natural fruits of all this abuse and degradation of religion soon manifested themselves, in the latter country, by a series of the most deliberate and systematic attacks upon Christianity that have ever been hazarded by infidels since first the light of the Gospel broke on this world. With such vigour were these impious assaults carried on, that, in the successive productions, from the year 1650, of Hobbes, Toland, Collins, Morgan, Woolston, Tindall, and Chubb, all the arguments of Deism may be said to have been exhausted;—Voltaire himself having been indebted for the keenest of his Anti-Christian weapons to the destructive armoury of these acute English free-thinkers.

To them also, far more than to the French Philosophers, or even to the example of the infidel court of Frederick the Great, has Germany to attribute the impulse given to her literature at the commencement of the eighteenth century,—an impulse, seconded but too willingly by her own Rationalizing divines, and ending, as we have seen, in the almost total extinction of her religion. Thus, by a signal retribution, has Germany had, by her example, been the means of Protestantizing England, so England has, in return, helped to unchristianize Germany.*

"* The fatal pre-eminence of being foremost in the ranks of infidelity is thus assigned to the English writers by Mosheim:—"There is no country in Europe where infidelity has not exhibited its poison; and scarcely any denomination of Christians among whom we may not find several persons who either aim at the total extinction of all re-

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I have already remarked that the Reformed Church, on the continent, from being much less concentrated than the Lutheran, as well as less accustomed to the restraints of fixed formularies of faith, lay proportionately more open to the inroads of belief; and, in that sort of security against innovation which Confessions and Articles afford, the Church of England was no less strongly intrenched than the Lutheran. Even into this preserve of orthodoxy, however, strict as was the "*divinity* that hedged it," the effects of the reaction produced by the excesses of Puritanism began visibly to extend themselves;—insomuch that, before the close of that century, the University of Oxford had to condemn, by a Decree of the Vice-Chancellor, as "false, impious and heretical," certain doctrines, concerning the Godhead, maintained publicly by a Dean of St. Paul's!*

The controversy in which this Decree had its origin is memorable in the annals of English theology; and not the less so from the fact that Dr. South, with whom the University sided, on the occasion, was as little orthodox, on the subject, as his Tritheist opponent; for while the latter (Doctor Sherlock) maintained that the three Persons in the Trinity are three distinct minds or spirits,† and three individual substances, Doctor South destroyed the

ligion, or at least endeavour to invalidate the authority of the Christian system. Some carry on these unhappy attempts in an open manner; others under the mask of a Christian profession; *but no where have these enemies of the purest religion and consequently of mankind, whom it was intended to render pure and happy, appeared, with more effrontery and insolence than under the governments of Great Britain and the United Provinces.* In England more especially it is not uncommon to meet with books in which not only the doctrines of the Gospel, but also the perfections of the Deity, and the solemn obligations of piety and virtue are impudently called into question and turned into derision."

* Doctor Sherlock. The Decree was levelled not directly at Sherlock himself, but at a Clergyman of Oxford who had preached his doctrine.

† Doctor Wallis represents Sherlock as being of opinion that the Three Spirits are as "really distinct as Peter, James, and John, and one God only, as they are mutually conscious," Wallis himself, in explaining his own view of the doctrine, is fully as Sabellian as South. "Whereas Persona (he says,) in its true and ancient sense, before the schoolmen put this forced sense upon it [i. e. of a distinct intelligent being,] did not signify a man simply, but one under such and such and such circumstances, or qualifications; so that the same man, if capable of being qualified thus and thus and thus, might sustain three persons, and these three persons be the same man."—*Letters concerning the Trinity.* In another place, this celebrated divine tells us gravely, that "there are three *somewhats*" in the Trinity.

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triple Personality altogether, and, in supposing but one substance, with something like three modes of existence, fell into downright Sabellianism.

The language, indeed, of this latter sprightly divine, on more than one solemn topic, would not have been ill-suited to the present Rationalist meridian of Germany; and, on the subject of the Book of Revelations, not even Semler himself, in all the wantonness of his school, has ventured to express himself so irreverently as did this chaplain of the Protestant champion, William III., who speaks of it, in one of his Sermons, as "a mysterious extraordinary book, which, perhaps, the more 'tis studied, the less 'tis understood, as generally finding a man cracked or making him so!"*

Nearly at the same time with the discreditable controversy just mentioned, appeared another and still more signal proof of the rapid advances of scepticism, not merely within the hallowed pale of Subscription itself, but, still more extraordinarily, on the very highways of preferment and patronage. Doctor Thomas Burnet, the master of the Charter-House,† and, as was supposed, destined to

* *Sermons.*—While South himself indulges in such license, he accuses Sherlock of still greater irreverence; and denounces his Treatise of the Knowledge of Christ as "a book fraught with reflections upon God's justice, with reference to Christ's satisfaction;" adding "that it may deservedly pass for a blasphemous libel on both." Nor can it be denied that there are passages in Sherlock's Treatise which fully warrant this description of it. For instance, Dr. Owen, the famous Calvinist, having asserted "that in Christ God hath manifested the naturalness of this righteousness unto him, in that it was impossible that it should be diverted from sinners, without the interposing of a propitiation," Dr. Sherlock, in ridiculing this doctrine, gives way to the following indecent language:—"That is (for I can make no better of it) *being glutted and satiated with the blood of Christ*, God may pardon as many and as great sinners as he pleases *without fear of the least imputation of justice.*" Again, "The sum of which is, that *God is all love and patience, when he hath taken his fill of revenge.* As others use to say, that '*the Devil is very good when he is pleased.*'"

† The example of orthodoxy set by these three responsible divines (South, a Rector and King's Chaplain, Sherlock, a Dean of St. Paul's, and Burnet, Master of the Charter-House) gave birth to a lively ballad, of which I cannot resist the temptation of quoting a few stanzas:

"When Preb. replied, like thunder,
And roared out 'twas no wonder,
Since Gods the Dean had three, sir,
And more by two than he, sir;
For he had got but one,
For he had, &c. &c.

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succeed Tillotson in the see of Canterbury, published about this time a work called "Archæologiæ Philosophicæ," in which, giving it as his opinion that Philosophy should be made the interpreter of Scripture (the masked battery of all infidels,) he proceeds to inquire into the Mosaic history of the Creation of the World; and, bringing forward every argument that a learned scepticism could suggest to throw doubt upon the credibility of the narrative, treats the whole with a degree of sarcasm and ridicule which would be, even in a lay infidel, offensive.

The principle on which he attempts to account for and reconcile the presumed falsehood of this history,—namely, that Moses, in all the details of his Cosmogony, thought only of adapting himself to the prejudices of the vulgar,* —is the very same that has, in later times, been made subservient to the explaining away of most of the essence of Christianity. Nor, even in this ulterior object, was the Reverend Doctor much behind the age of Rationalism, as we find him citing, in support of the policy of thus humouring the false fancies of the vulgar, the examples of Christ and the Apostles, who, he says, in speaking on such points as a Future Life, the Last Judgment, and the nature of Heaven and Hell, did not express themselves accurately, but, on the contrary, adapted their language to what they knew to be the most popular imaginations on these subjects. As a specimen of the freedom with which this divine handles such topics, I shall merely mention that, after demonstrating, as he supposes, the physical impossibility of light having been created on the first

"Now, while the two were raging,
And in dispute engaging,
The Master of the Charter
Said both had caught a Tartar,
For Gods, sir, there were none, &c.

"That all the Books of Moses
Were nothing but supposes;
That he deserved rebuke, sir,
Who wrote the Pentateuch, sir—
'Twas nothing but a sham, &c.

"That as for Father Adam,
With Mrs. Eve, his madam,
And what the Serpent spoke, sir,
'Twas nothing but a joke, sir,
And well-invented flam," &c.

* Scripturam Sacram ad populi captum accomodare.

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day, he suggests that Moses might have thought it advisable to begin his Hexameron with this task, lest it should seem "as if God were working three days in the dark."!*

The effects of the change produced in the actual power of the Crown, at the Revolution, by substituting patronage and the force of influence for the bare sceptre of prerogative, have been felt in none of those channels through which the Royal Pactolus has since continued to flow, more abundantly than in the Church:—and thus, in addition to whatever guard against innovation the pen-fold of Subscription may have supplied, a new and still more powerful incentive to orthodoxy has been found in the grandeur and opulence that glitter within its pale. Still so prone and irresistible is the tendency of Protestantism to strip itself of every shred of doctrine and reason away all mysteries, that, notwithstanding the countless worldly advantages which a Church, rich in such bribes, holds out, not only has *lay* dissent from her communion increased to such an extent as threatens, before long, to "push her from her stool," but even her own divines, the very sentinels of the Establishment, have gone on undermining the foundations of her faith, and surrendering, one by one, its strongest outposts, as if to prepare her for

* Ne Deus videretur per triduum operari in tenebris.—He remarks that, on some of the days, God is represented as doing very little, and accounts for this disproportionate activity by the supposition that Moses, intending, from the first, to institute the Sabbath, thus purposely spun out the task, so as to make God rest on the seventh day. The part of his work that gave most offence was an imaginary dialogue between Eve and the Serpent, and this, in a second edition of his book, published at Amsterdam, he omitted; as well as his irreverent remark on the sewing of the fig-leaves together:—"Behold the first rudiments of the tailor's art!" En primordia artis sutoriæ!

Such was the decorous divine who, but for this unlucky production, would have succeeded, it was supposed, Tillotson as Archbishop of Canterbury!—Tillotson himself was, it is well known, suspected of more than a leaning to Socinianism, and the laudatory terms in which he speaks of the learning and candour of the followers of that creed might well induce such a suspicion. However successfully, indeed, he may be thought to have cleared himself from the imputation, it is no small proof of, at least, the tendency of some of his doctrine in that direction, that Leslie, in one of his controversial works, was able to pass off whole pages of Tillotson's Sermon on Hell Torments, as from the pen of a Socinian writer. "Because you could not (says Emlyn, in his answer to Leslie) raise odium enough from their own (the Socinians') writings, you pick up any odious thing, even out of the writings of their very opposers, and then make your Socinian to speak it, and this without naming the author from whom you took the passage."

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that fall, in which her sisters of Germany have but a short space preceded her.

Nor is it so much to the Burnets and the Whistons, who, from too much honesty, overleap the Church fence, as to the Hoadlys and Balguys, who keep insidiously *within* it, that the main mischief is to be attributed. Of the success of the two last-mentioned divines in Socinianizing the Church of England Sacraments, I have already more than once spoken; and though they did not *openly* carry the principle any farther, the close friendship which Hoadly maintained with Samuel Clarke, as well as the earnestness with which, in his Life of that distinguished man, he defends him against the charge of having retracted his heretical notions, concerning the Trinity, leave little doubt that the Bishop's own views on that subject were, at least, equally heterodox.

The language of Doctor Balguy, in its anti-mysterious and rationalizing tendency, was even more explicit than that of his friend and patron, the Bishop. The very argument, indeed, advanced by the infidel, Toland, to prove that Christianity is not mysterious,—namely, that it professes to be a revelation, and that any thing revealed can no longer be mysterious,—is thus brought forward, at second-hand, by the beneficed Dr. Balguy: "It is no ways essential to a mystery to be ill understood: the word evidently refers to men's past ignorance, not their present. In this sense, the revelation of a mystery destroys the very being of it. The moment it becomes an article of belief, it is mysterious no longer."*

This is manifestly mere Socinianism in disguise;—for, to say that the moment a doctrine becomes an article of belief, it is mysterious no longer, is but another mode of asserting the main position of the Rationalist, that, if a dostrine is mysterious, it cannot become an article of belief. The whole of Dr. Balguy's language, on such subjects, is of the same insidious description; though occasionally, as in the following passage of one of his Charges, the mask is somewhat more boldly lifted:—"It is our business (he says) not to swell out the *slender articles of belief* contained in Scripture by *mere human inventions;* and, least of all, to censure and persecute our brethren, per-

* *Discourses, by T. Balguy, D.D.*

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haps for no other reason than because *their nonsense and ours wear a different dress.*"*

As a clew to the meaning insinuated in these suspicious sentences, I shall add another remarkable passage of the same clever divine, in which his admission of the Pagan origin assigned by Priestly and others to the doctrine of the Trinity is far too clear to be mistaken:—"A man will have no cause to fear that he believes too little, if he believes enough to make him repent and obey. If we are firmly persuaded that *Jesus was sent from God*,† if we are sincerely desirous to obey his laws, and hope for salvation in and through him, it will never be laid to our charge that we have misconceived *certain metaphysical niceties*, which have been *drawn from obscure passages of Scripture by the magical operation of Pagan philosophy.*"

Such, all but avowal of the worst principles of Socianism, from men so high in the Church, both from station and talent, sufficiently prepares us for what otherwise would have seemed wholly incredible,—an express proffer of the hand of fellowship to the whole body of Socinians, from no less a quarter than the chair of the Norrisian professor of Theology, at Cambridge!—In one of his otherwise most valuable Lectures, the late Dr. Hey thus speaks:—"We and the Socinians are said to differ,—but about what? Not about morality or about natural religion. We differ only about what we do not understand, and about what is to be done on the part of God; and if we allowed one another to use expessions at will (*and what great matter could that be in what might be called unmeaning words?*) we need never be on our guard against each other."‡

In these few sceptical sentences,—in the chill and deadly air of Indifferentism that breathes through them, we recognise that last stage of a declining religion, before (as exemplified so signally in the instance of Ger-

* *Charge to the Clergy of an Archdeaconry.*

† It is plain that the Mahometans, who believe Christ to have been a prophet "sent from God," must, on the principle here laid down, be considered as orthodox.

‡ The same learned Lecturer, in speaking of the *custom*, as he calls it, in Scripture, of mentioning Father, Son, and Holy Ghost together, says, "Did I pretend to understand what I say, I might be a Tritheist or an infidel; but I could not worship the one true God, and acknowledge Jesus Christ to be the Lord of all."

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many,) it sinks to the flat level of total unbelief;—that stage, where Heresy, weary of its own caprices and changes, and no longer fed by the false stimulus which the strife of controversy once lent, sinks hopelessly into the collapse of indifference which precedes the death of all faith.

I have already more than once referred to the "monster of absurdity,"—as Whitaker justly describes it,—of an avowed Arian, on the bench of Bishops, in the person of Dr. Clayton, and might here still farther, did my limits permit, increase my list of Socinian Divines of the Church of England by such names as Watson,* Warburton,† Jortin,‡ the late Dr. Parr,§ and others,—showing how irre-

* In a charge to his clergy, in the year 1795, this latitudinarian divine, speaking of the Christian doctrines, thus speaks:—"I think it *safer* to tell you *where they are contained* than *what* they are. They are contained in the Bible, and if, in reading that book, your sentiments concerning the doctrines of Christianity should be different from those of your neighbour, *or from those of the Church*, be persuaded, on your part, that infallibility appertains as little to you as it does to the Church."

The same Bishop, in the Catalogue of books affixed to his Theological Tracts, says, "We ought to entertain no other wish than that every man may be allowed, without loss of fame or fortune, *to think what he pleases, and say what he thinks*—(et sentire quæ velit et quæ sentiat dicere.") In adverting to this free and easy principle, a correspondent of the reverend author of the *Parriana* very justly says, "This extraordinary passage means what is nothing to the purpose, or what is very disgraceful to the Church of England. Certainly, until a man avows himself her member or teacher, she claims no authority, leaving conscience and disquisition free; but when men have in almost a score of instances solemnly declared their assent and consent to certain Articles, does the Church then permit any such individual '*et sentire quæ velit et quæ sentiat dicere?*'"

† In reference to some very coarse ridicule cast by Warburton, in one of his letters to Hurd, on the Biblical account of Noah's Ark, Mr. Barker, in his amusing work, *Parriana*, says, "Should William Hone, the bookseller, have been tried for political parodies, when Bishop Warburton could write in this manner about Biblical history?"

‡ The writer of a letter addressed to Gilbert Wakefield, and published in his Memoirs, tells us that "Jortin professed himself a doubter about the Trinity;" and adds, "he had a mind far above worldly views; yet, whether from a desire to be useful in his profession, or any other good motive, (it certainly was some *good* motive,) he subscribed repeatedly both before and after this profession."

In confirmation of this account of his opinions, we find Jortin, in his Miscellanies, accusing those who adopt the high Trinitarian doctrine, of "making Jesus Christ his own Father and his own Son." What this ingenious divine thought, in general, of the Church to which he so repeatedly subscribed, may be collected from the following passage:—"Bacon says, 'if St. John were to write an Epistle to the Church of England, as he did to that of Asia, it would surely contain this clause, *I have a few things against thee.*' I am afraid the clause would be, *I have* NOT *a few things against thee.*"—*Jortin.*

§ "Doctor Parr's avowal (says Mr. Barker) of the coincidence of his

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sistibly, in the face of all pledges and bribes, of all restraints on conscience and baits to cupidity, the sceptical spirit of Protestantism* continues to hurry on in its downward career to that dark plunge into infidelity which full as surely awaits it as doth the rush down the steep await the Niagara in its course.

Having already, however, out-gone the limits which I had allowed myself for this sketch, I shall here only add that the remarkable parallel which I have proved so clearly to have existed, throughout every stage of their respective careers, between the Protestantism of Germany and that of England, has received, even while I write, an additional, and, I might say, crowning step in the proposal recently made for a coalition between the Church of England and the Dissenters. This companion picture, as it may be called, to the memorable compromise between the Lutherans and Calvinists of Germany, owes its first outline to a Church of England divine, of

own opinion with those of Bishop Hoadley, Dr. Bell, and Dr. Taylor, on the Real Presence, seems to confirm Mr. Gibbon's assertion of the actual prevalence, among the Reformed Churches, of the opinion of Zwinglius, that the Sacrament of the Altar is no more than a spiritual communion, a simple memorial of Christ's death and passion."—*Parriana.*

The following anecdotes, from the same work, respecting Dr. Parr, are curious:—"At a friend's house in Norwich, the conversation turned upon the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. From what the Doctor said, I understood him to mean, that nothing more was intended than an ordinary birth. I took a much higher position, and, convinced of the strength of my ground, asked him whether it was possible that the Evangelist, in penning the sentence, 'The Word was made flesh,' &c. could mean no more than the conception and birth of a mere human being?—Without pursuing the subject, he merely said, "You are right, you are right!"

"I had once the pleasure of driving the Doctor a few miles into the country, to visit a former pupil. When we returned together, it was a bright starlight night, and the beauty of the scene over our heads led me to ask him, with reference to the Mosaic record, how long, in his opinion, those orbs had rolled and glittered. He made some remarks on the term (created) employed by the sacred penman, distinguishing between creation, strictly understood, and formation, or putting the then chaos into its present order. I did not then admire the distinction which throws back the creation to an indefinite period, and thrusts the Creator from what seems his proper place; and if Moses should fail us here, and the same mode of criticism be adopted in other parts of Scripture, I fear we shall have no proof of the creation of the *material* world at least."

* Doctor Parr having, as it appears, intimated that Bishop Porteus had been a Socinian before he came to the mitre, the British Critic for January, 1828, in taking up the cause of the latter, says, "That the calumniator of Porteus should be the panegyrist of such prelates as Clayton and Hoadly is a mere matter of course. But Doctor Parr

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high character and attainments,* who grounds his views of the expediency and even urgency of such a step, both on the extent to which dissent from the Established Church prevails, and the reconcileable nature of the doctrines out of which that dissent arises. That this penultimate scene of the drama must before long arrive, none who read the signs of the times aright can harbour a single doubt; and some notion may be formed of the amount of sacrifice that will, in such case, be required of the Church, by her new allies, from the following items of what one of her own living divines considers objectionable in her ritual:—

"What, (asks the Rev. Mr. Riland) do we gain by the party spirit of the preface to the Liturgy: the ill selection of proper lessons, epistles, and gospels; the retention of legendary names and allusions in the calendar; the lection of the Apocrypha and the omission of the Apocalypse; the mention of feasts and fasts never observed; the repetition of the Paternoster, Kyrie Eleison, and Gloria Patri; the wearisome length of the services; the redundance and assumptions in the state prayers; the unsatisfactoriness of the three creeds; the disputable character of the baptismal and the burial offices; the incompleteness and dubious construction of the catechism, and of the order of confirmation; the inapplicable nature and absolution of the visitation of the sick; the imperfection of the commination service; the discordance between the Prayer Book and Bible translation of the Psalms; the contumelious and offensive language of the state services; and, added to all these sources of weakness, similar causes of inefficiency in the Articles and Homilies?"—*Riland.*

could only admire at a distance their good fortune which threw them on those happier days when it was permitted to an Arian and a Socinian to avow their principles and yet retain their mitres."

* Dr. Arnold.—The following is an extract from the Rev. Doctor's pamphlet:—"We are by no means bound to inquire, whether all who pray to Christ entertain exactly the same ideas of his nature. I believe that Arianism involves in it some very erroneous notions as to the object of religious worship; but if an Arian will join in our worship of Christ, and will call him Lord and God, there is neither wisdom nor charity in insisting that he shall explain what he means by these terms; nor in questioning the strength and sincerity of his faith in his Saviour, because he makes too great a distinction between the divinity of the Father, and that which he allows to be the attribute of the Son.

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While such are the symptoms, so formidably similar to all that occurred in Germany, of the advance of indifferentism and scepticism among the Clergy of this country, we have the authority of the Clergy themselves for the progress of the same demoralizing principles among the Laity. "Infidelity," says Bishop Watson, in his Apology for the Bible, "is a rank weed; it threatens to overspread the land; its root is principally found among the great and opulent." In the same manner Bishop Prettyman complains, in one of his Charges, "that the characteristics of the present times are confessedly incredulity, and an unprecedented indifference to the religion of Christ." —And Bishop Barrington said, in 1797, "Even in this country there is an almost universal lukewarmness, respecting the essentials of religion."

At the same time, too, that these and other eminent Church of England authorities* bear such testimony to the irreligion of the higher classes of the country, we find in the Reports of Home Missionaries and other such sources an equally lamentable picture of the demoralization of the lower.

At the first annual meeting of the Parent Home Missionary Society, 1820, it is stated, in reference to Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, and part of Lancashire, that "darkness covers this part of England, and gross darkness the people:"—while the County of Worcester, it is said, may, "in a moral light, be regarded as a waste, howling wilderness." In the same Report, Staffordshire is stated to contain three hundred thousand inhabitants, "the greater part of whom sit in darkness and the gloomy shades of overspreading death." Again, Oxfordshire, we are told, presents a "moral wilderness of awful dimensions," and, in a part of Berkshire, "the villages are in a state of complete mental darkness."

In a second Report of the same Society, it is stated

* The writers of the British Critic, who, to do them but justice, defend the interests of their religion with a degree of zeal and ability which is rare among the theologians of this age, thus acknowledge and deplore the state of Protestant England, as hastening fast to a similar doom with that of Protestant Germany:—"There is quite enough of infidelity amongst us already. Liberal principles, that is, no fixed principles whatever, are professed in every quarter; and, in spite of the apparent tranquillity which reigns around, *the day may not be distant, in which there will be as little belief amongst the gentlemen of England as there is now amongst the philosophers of Germany—that is, none at all.*"

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that Mr. Sparkes preached in four places which were "moral wildernesses, and knew nothing of evangelical truth;" and in the third Report, one of the Missionaries says of his station, "I verily believe that this is the worst place under the heavens, for men, women, and children seem to glory in blaspheming the Lord!"

CHAPTER LI.

Return to Ireland.—Visit to Townsend-street Chapel.—Uncertainty and unsafety of the Scriptures, as a sole Rule of Faith:—Proofs.—Authority of the Church.—Faith or Reason.—Catholic or Deist.—Final Resolution.

On the 23d of April, 1830,—completing just a year and a week from the date of that memorable evening, when, in my chambers, up two pair of stairs, Trinity College, I declared so emphatically, "I *will* be a Protestant,"—I found myself once more safely landed, on Irish ground, and, I need hardly add, a far better and honester Catholic than when I left it. That disreputable hankering after the flesh-pots of Ballymudragget which had so long blinded me to the light of truth, or rather tempted me, with that light full before me, to turn my back upon its beams, was now cast away with scorn and loathing from my mind; and the very first Sunday after my arrival beheld me once more in the old Townsend Street Chapel, with a conscience lightened of self-reproach, and a heart full of the humblest gratitude to that Being whose eye had watched over me through the temptations with which I had had to struggle.

On looking back to the wide field over which my inquiries had led me, I could not but see that the main source of all the heresies and blasphemies which have arisen, like phantoms, along the pathway of Christianity, from the first moment of its appearance in this world, lay in that free access to the perusal of the Scriptures and that free exercise of private judgment in interpreting them, which heretics have, in all ages, contended for, and the Catholic Church has, in all ages, as invariably con-

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demned. It was, therefore, with a sigh to think how long-lived and unconquerable is error, that I found, on landing in Ireland, the very same cry of "the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible," which the Gnostics of the second century first turned to the detriment of Christianity, employed by those far from Gnostic persons, the Lortons and Rodens of the nineteenth,—however unconsciously and ignorantly, on their parts, to the same baleful purpose.

The mischievous consequences of leaving the Scriptures to be interpreted according to individual fancy and caprice have been pointed out, in opposition to the Dissenters* and the advocates of Bible Societies, by Dr. Balguy, Bishop Marsh, the Rev. Mr. Callaghan, and other Protestant divines; and the arguments advanced by them, in support of this truly Catholic view of the subject, are far too valuable to the cause of true morality and religion to allow us to indulge in any taunts at the utter inconsistency with the first and main principles of Protestantism which they exhibit.† Referring for the general view of the question to these writers, I shall here employ the brief space that remains to me in endeavouring to show, by a few facts and authorities, that the Scriptures as a rule of faith, cannot be otherwise than obscure, uncertain, and unsafe without the aid of that guidance which Tradition alone can supply, and which the Church, as the depository of all Christian Tradition, alone can furnish.

And, first, to begin with the difficulties which uninstructed and unguided Reason has to encounter in the main, preliminary point of understanding the meaning of Scripture,—"Open your Bibles," says Dr. Balguy; "take the first page that occurs in either Testament, and tell me, without disguise, is there nothing in it too hard for your understanding? If you find all before you clear and easy, you may thank God for giving you a privilege which

* "We find as yet (said Dr. Owen, speaking of himself and his brother non-conformists) no arrows shot against us but such as are gathered up in the fields, shot against them that use them out of the Roman quiver."—*Inquiry into the Origin and Institution of Churches.*

† A shrewd Catholic clergymen, the Rev. Mr. Gandolphy, did not fail to remind Bishop Marsh of this inconsistency:—"This," says the Rev. gentleman, "is exactly the steady, sober language which the Catholics have been using for two hundred years, whilst the Reformers have run mad with the Bible fever."

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he has denied to so many thousands of sincere believers."

With respect to the Old Testament, we have but too clear a proof, in the utter misconception, on the part of the Jews, of the true nature and character of the expected Messiah, how far a whole nation may be deceived in interpreting the Sacred Writings, even on a point touching their own interests, essentially and vitally:* and when to the difficulties and obscurities which prevented even the Jews themselves from understanding their own Scriptures are added all those that, from the lapse of time, from the corruption of copies, from our comparative ignorance of the language and the incorrectness of translators,† have since gathered round the meaning of the text, it is surely little less than utter madness to assert that the ordinary race of mankind should be left to sift and distort to their own fancies and whims a series of records left so awfully open to misapprehension.

Let us but hear what Lowth, in recommending a revision of the Vulgar translation of the Old Testament, says of the state of the Hebrew text on which that translation is founded:—"With regard to the Old Testament, the Church of Christ is no longer a slave to the synagogue, nor does the Christian interpreter blindly follow those blind guides, the Jewish teachers. Their infallible Ma-

* The Jews, too, after having thus rejected the real Messiah suffered themselves to be deceived by several impostors who usurped that title; and the writer of a Dissertation on the subject (quoted by Grégoire) counts no less than seventeen different false Messiahs from Bar Barcochebaz down to Sabbathai Zevi, who made the eighteenth.

† All the great German Reformers accused each other of misinterpreting and mistranslating the Scriptures. Beza found fault with the translation by Œcolampadius. Castalio condemned Beza's version, and Molinæus condemned both Beza's and Castalio's. Zwinglius charged Luther with corrupting the word of God, while Luther advanced the same charge against Munzer.

In a petition addressed to James I. by some zealous Protestants, it is stated, "Our Translation of the Psalms, comprised in our Book of Common Prayer, doth in addition, subtraction and alterations differ from the truth of the Hebrew in at least two hundred places." The Ministers of the Lincoln Diocese, addressing also the king, pronounced the English translation of the Bible to be "a translation which is absurd and senseless, perverting in many places the meaning of the Holy Ghost;"—and Broughton a red-hot Protestant, in his Advertisements of Corruptions, tells the Bishops, that "their public translation of Scripture into English is such as that it perverts the texts of the Old Testament in eight hundred and forty places, and that it causes millions of millions to reject the New Testament and to run to eternal flames."

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tora, boasted to have been an edifice raised by wise master-builders on the rock of divine authority, proves to have been framed by unskilful hands, and built on the sand; its foundations have been shaken, and it now totters to its fall. The defects of the Hebrew text itself,—for it cannot be denied that it hath its defects, nor, as it has been transmitted to us by human means, could it possibly be without defects,—these have been pointed out and remedies have in part been applied to them, and may be farther applied by an accurate collation of ancient versions and of various copies."

While such, as regards the Old Testament,* are the vague and shifting sands on which the presumption of Private Judgment has to build its conclusions, the difficulties which stand in the way of an inquirer into the New Testament are hardly of a less perplexing or unsurmountable nature; nor did even the gross misconception of the Jews, respecting the Messiah, afford a much stronger proof of the fallibility of human reason, on such subjects, that does the total perversion of all the doctrines of the Gospel into which the Gnostics of the first ages were, by the same self-willed mode of interpreting, led. When we recollect, too, that the men who thus mistook or perverted the sense of Scripture were some of them contemporaries of the Apostles themselves, spoke the language of the New Testament and the Septuagint version, and, from being natives of the countries where the Gospel was first preached, possessed all those clews to interpretation which a knowledge of customs and manners affords,—when we see that, in spite of all such facilities towards the true understanding of the Word, they yet, from their rejection of the lights of Tradition and of the authority of the Church, fell into the coarsest and most puerile misinterpretations of Christian doctrine, —what other, I ask, than proportionably ruinous consequences are to be expected from the illiterate and presumptuous Bible-searchers of the present day, who to an equally arrogant defence of tradition and authority add

* It was the opinion of Whiston that the text of the Old Testament had been greatly corrupted, both in the Hebrew and Septuagint, by the Jews themselves, for the purpose of rendering, as he supposes, the reasoning of the Apostles from the Old Testament inconclusive and ridiculous.

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the profoundest ignorance of all that even modern sciolists know upon the subject?

From the obscurity thus shown to exist in the *meaning* of Scripture,—an obscurity which those most qualified to see their way through it have been always the foremost to acknowledge,*—flows naturally the second defect of the Sacred Volume, as a sole guide of faith, namely, its endless uncertainty. Those who have gone through the preceding pages can sufficiently form to themselves a notion of the endless varieties of doctrine to which this uncertainty has, among Protestants, given rise. Even where the text itself is simple and unmistakeable, the facility of evading its real sense in which Heresy is so practised, comes ever readily into play. We have seen that of the words "This is my body," no less than two hundred different interpretations appeared before the end of the sixteenth century; and Osiander, as quoted by Jeremy Taylor, asserts that there were, during the same period, "twenty several opinions, concerning Satisfaction, all drawn from the Scriptures by the men only of the Augustan Confession,—sixteen several opinions concerning Original Sin, and as many distinctions of the Sacraments as there were sects of men that disagreed about them!"

Most frightful, too, is it—to all but those who, relying on Christ's promises to his Church, know that from her, at least, the spirit of Truth will never be suffered to depart,—to think on what trivial points the great stake of salvation is made to depend by those who are guided in their faith by the text of Scripture alone. The difference

* For instance, Locke, in the Essay prefixed to his Commentary on the Epistles, says "Though I had been conversant in these Epistles, as well as in other parts of the sacred Scripture, yet I found *that I understood them not*,—I mean the doctrinal and discursive parts of them." After pointing out what he conceives to be the reasons of this obscurity, he adds, "To these causes of obscurity common to St. Paul with most of the other penmen of the several books of the New Testament, we may add those that are peculiarly owing to his style and temper."

Macknight, too, remarks no less strongly, "the obscure manner of writing used by the Apostle Paul," and his "dark forms of expression." But a still more formidable source of error, in this Apostle's style, has been glanced at by the Hon. Mr. Boyle (*Style of Scrip.*) who tells us that there are, in St. Paul's writings, many passages so penned as to contain a tacit kind of dialogue; and that of these, some parts have been taken as *arguments*, which St Paul himself meant evidently as *objections*.

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of a comma, of a note of interrogation, arising through the carelessness of transcribers, will produce a change of meaning by which the eternal destiny of millions may be influenced. We are told by Lowth, in a passage just cited, that the mode of interpreting the Old Testament adopted by the Masorites is now entirely exploded, as erroneous and deceptive. On this mode of interpretation, nevertheless, the English translation of the Hebrew Scriptures is, for the greater part, founded; and how great is the havoc which it makes with other parts of the sacred text, may be concluded from the single instance, that, in the Prophecy of Daniel (ix. 24, 25) it completely alters the nature of the prediction,—insomuch as to "make it wholly unserviceable to Christians,"—by putting a semicolon in a place where there ought to have been a comma!*

The very text, indeed, which the Protestants bring forward as their chief authority for the unlimited perusal of the Scriptures, varies essentially in its meaning and its applicability to their purpose, according as the verb is taken in the imperative or the indicative mood,—"Search the Scriptures," or "You search the Scriptures,"—St. Cyril being for the latter acceptation of the sentence, and St. Augustine, Theophylactus, and other Fathers having declared for the former. If the indicative mood of the verb be admitted, it then becomes a question, whether a note of interrogation should not be added, so as to make it "Do you search the Scriptures?"

But it is on the great and vital doctrine of the Trinity that these grammatical uncertainties must, to all who rest their belief of that mystery on the words of Scripture alone, be the most awfully perplexing. One of the strongest authorities, in favour of the Divinity of Christ, that of Rom. ix. 5, was got rid of by the Socinians by the mere

* "Our English translators took the present Hebrew text as it is printed by the Masorites to be the only sense and meaning of the Old Testament. In Dan. ix. 25, they put their 'athnach,' or semicolon, after the seven weeks, and thus cutting off the seven weeks from the threescore and two weeks, make the prophecy wholly unserviceable to Christians; but, if they had placed a comma after seven weeks, and their 'athnach,' or semicolon, after threescore and two weeks, the number of years, viz. 483 (69 weeks) would exactly point out the time when the Christian Messiah came."—*Johnson.—See Rees' Cyclopædia, art. Masora.*

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substitution of a point for a comma.* The text in 1 Tim. iii. 16, "God was manifest in the flesh," has been, in like manner, withdrawn from the aid of the Trinitarians, by showing that the true reading is ος. not Θεος,—"*he* was manifest," not "God was manifest,"—so that the omission of two letters, out of four, makes all the difference here between Christ's humanity and his Divinity!† The reading of κυριου, instead of Θεου, in Acts xx. 28, has precisely the same humanizing effect; while the famous verse, 1 John v. 7,—that long-contested scriptural basis of the doctrine of a Tri-une God,—is now, on all sides, abandoned, as unquestionably spurious.

What then, let me ask, remains to the Protestant who has been taught to acknowledge no other rule of faith than the Written Word, but to surrender at once all belief in a dogma of which the sole props are thus, one by one, taken away? And such unhappily *has* been the result necessarily attendant on that fatal rejection of the ancient authority of Tradition into which so large a portion of the Christian world was hurried rashly by the Re-

* Thus printed in the Vulgate:—"Ex quibus est Christus, secundum carnem qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in sæcula."—Grotius was also for the Socinian reading of this passage.

† The introduction of the word "God," in this verse, is suspected by Erasmus to have been an Athanasian forgery,—"Mihi subdolet," he says, "Deum additum fuisse adversus Hæreticos Arianos." Grotius is of the same opinion.

The following curious particulars respecting this disputed text, will show on what awfully minute props the Protestants' sole Rule of Faith may depend. In the Alexandrine MS., to which both parties referred for the text, the Unitarians found only 'OΣ, while the Trinitarians thought they could discover a transverse line in the first letter, which made it ΘΣ, i. e. ΘΕΟΣ. In order to ascertain the matter, Dr. Berriman, who was of the orthodox interest, took with him two friends, as witnesses, Messrs. Ridley and Gibson, and examined the manuscript, in the sun with the assistance of a glass. His report was decidedly in favour of the Trinitarian reading; and he concluded his statement by saying, that "if at any time hereafter the old line should become indiscernible, there never will be just reason to doubt but that the genuine reading of this MS. was ΘΣ." The most curious part, however, of the whole transaction was that Dr. Berriman openly accused his opponent, M. Wettestein, with having admitted to a common friend that he saw the transverse line of the ΘΣ; and the only explanation M. Wettestein was able to make of his concession on this point was that, in admitting the fact, he was deceived by the transverse line of an E, on the opposite page, which appeared through the vellum!

After all, however, the Trinitarian reading is now universally abandoned. Jortin saw it to be untenable, and Bishop Marsh resigned it without a struggle.

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formation.* Not only at the mercy of every wind of doctrine that blows from all the countless points of the compass of Private Judgment, but depending for his faith on the various readings of manuscripts, on the position even of semicolons and commas, the Protestant loses, at every step, some hold, some footing in Christianity, and sees the creed of his fathers vanishing, like fairy money, out of his grasp.†

Far different are the grounds on which the Catholic Church asserts her claims to belief. Holding the Scriptures in one hand, she points, with the other, to the ancient authority of Tradition,—that authority under whose sanction the doctrine "delivered by the Saints" has been handed down, and by which alone the inspiration of the Scriptures themselves can be authenticated. From this apostolical source, before, a single word of the New Testament was written, she received, in trust for all time, the imperishable deposite of the two great Christian Mysteries, the Trinity ‡ and the Real Presence; and

* Well may the learned and able Lingard ask, "Have not the Reformed Churches, by rejecting the authority of Tradition, destroyed in effect the authority of Scripture, taken away the certainty of religious belief, and undermined the very foundations of Christianity?" —*Strictures on Dr. Marsh's Comparative View, &c.*

† How long this catastrophe has been foreseen the following extract from the French Encyclopædia will prove:—"It is certain that the most learned and intelligent amongst them (Protestants) have for some time made considerable advances towards the Anti-trinitarian dogmas. Add to this, the spirit of toleration which, happily for humanity seems to have gained ground in all communions, Catholic as well as Protestant, and you have the true cause of the rapid progress Socinianism has made in our days; of the deep roots it hath cast into most minds, the branches of which, continually unfolding and extending themselves, cannot fail soon to convert Protestantism, in general, into perfect Socinianism."

This writer falls into the common mistake (as does my friend, indeed, very frequently in these pages) of confounding Socinianism with Unitarianism,—an error now become almost too prevalent to be easily got rid of. "Unitarian (says a very ingenious and learned member of that body) has a general, Socinian a specific meaning;—every Socinian is a Unitarian, but every Unitarian is not a Socinian. A Unitarian is a believer in the Personal Unity of God; a Socinian is a believer in the Personal Unity of God, who also believes Jesus Christ to be both a man and an object of religious worship." So far from Socinianism, according to its true sense, gaining ground, it may be pronounced, on the contrary, wholly extinct; and "if the charge of idolatry," says the writer just quoted, "can be justly brought against any Christians, which many of us doubt, it is against such as hold Christ to be a man only, and yet pay him divine honours; that is, in fact, against Socinians."—*Plea for Unitarian Dissenters, by Robert Aspland.*

‡ "Separate not (says St. Basil) the Holy Spirit from the Father and

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these, through chance and change, and among all the defections and heresies that surround her, she has maintained, in their first perfect holiness, to the present hour. It matters not to her safety how Heresy and Schism may, from time to time, raise their bold fronts against her power. In the very first ages of her existence, this rebellion of the Evil Principle began; and the Ebionites denied the Trinity and the Docetæ the Real Presence full as confidently as the Unitarians and the Zwinglians assail those bulwarks of her faith in modern times. It matters not to her Unity how text-hunters and commentators, how all that tribe whom St. Paul styles "the disputers of this world," may succeed in torturing the Word of God by their perverse ingenuity. That unwritten authority, upon which the Scriptures themselves are but a Comment, guides her, safe and triumphant, through a path high above all such disturbing influences.

The strange and startling discovery, upon which Criticism, in its prying course, has lately lighted,—that the three first Gospies are but transcriptions from some older documents, and *not* the works of the writers whose names they bear,—however calculated it may be to strike consternation into Protestants, who find there sole rule of faith thus unsettled, leaves the Church which Christ founded and instructed still secure on her old Apostolical grounds. The lamp of Tradition, delivered down by the Apostles, at which the light of the Scriptures themselves was kindled, still burns, with saving lustre, in her hands; and, were it possible that every vestige of the Written Word could be swept away, at this moment, from the earth, the Catholic Church would but find herself as she was, before a syllable of the New Testament was written, and remembering the promise of Christ to be "with her all days" would still hold on her course unfaltering and

the Son: *let Tradition deter you.*"—(*Homil.* 24, *adv. Subell.*) The following circumstance, mentioned by Erasmus, affords a happy illustration of this point. Giving an account of a slight dispute which he had with Farel, respecting the Invocation of Saints, he says, "'I asked him, why he rejected this doctrine? and whether it was not because the Scriptures were silent about it.'—'Yes,' said he.—'Show me then, evidently,' said I, 'from the Scriptures, that we ought to invoke the Holy Ghost.'" Farel, when pressed, produced the passage in John, "These three are one;" but Erasmus, who was one of the many that reject that text, would not admit of his authority.

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unchanged, the sole "source of Truth and dwelling-place of Faith,"* to the last.

Here, then, under the safe shelter of this unerring authority, do I finally fix my resting-place,—submitting implicitly to the only guidance which promises peace to the soul, and convinced that Reason which, even in this world's affairs, proves but a sorry conductress, is, in all heavenly things, a rash and ruinous guide. The low value which it is plain our Saviour himself set on the inductions of human reason sufficiently shows how little the faith which he came to teach was meant to be amenable to such a tribunal.† The Apostle Paul denounces the "foolishness of the wisdom of this world," with a warmth and vehemence which leave no doubt that he foresaw mischief to the cause of Christianity from that source; and the Holy Fathers of the first ages, though so gifted with all human learning themselves, not only knew the nothingness of such gifts in the eyes of a Supreme God, but felt that Faith, paramount Faith, demanded the sacrifice of them all, as well as of stubborn Reason itself, at the foot of the altar.

"When faith is in question," says St. Ambrose, "away with all arguments!"—"Why do you search into what is inscrutable?" asks St. Ephrem,—"Doing this, you prove your curiosity, not your faith." St. Chrysostom held it to be no less than blasphemy to attempt to judge of things divine by reason,—seeing "that human reasoning hath nothing in common with the Mysteries of God;"

* Sola Catholica Ecclesia est quæ verum cultum retinet. Hic est fons veritatis, hoc est domicilium fidei.—*Lactant. Inst. L.* 4.

† "How did Christ himself proceed?"—says an intelligent writer—"Knowing that that Faith must be very wavering which is built on the sandy foundation of human Reason, he did not so much as once attempt to show the conformity of his Gospel to it; but when Nicodemus, amazed at the strange doctrine of 'being born again,' demanded 'how can these things be?' he only tells him that 'he spake of heavenly things' and 'what he knew,'—urging that as a reason for him 'not to wonder' at it. . . . . He desired them not to believe if they were not satisfied he came from God; but, after being once convinced of that, he exacts an absolute submission; insomuch that when the 'eating his flesh and drinking his blood' was as great 'a scandal' to some of his own disciples as it can be to modern Protestants; and when they began to ask 'How can this man give us his flesh to eat?' he merely reiterates his assertion of the same thing, and seems to have taught this 'hard doctrine' then, on purpose to distinguish who they were that believed his authority."

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and St. Cyril of Alexandria declares that "in matters of faith, all curiosity must cease."*

Nor is it only by these great Church authorities that such limits have been set to the exercise of human judgment. Two of the greatest masters of the faculty of reasoning that ever existed,—the one commanding its most comprehensive range, the other wielding its acutest subtleties,—have alike advanced the same Catholic and, I may add, philosophic opinion. "We must not," says the wise Lord Bacon, "submit the mysteries of Faith to our Reason;" and the acute Bayle agrees with him:—"Si la Raison étoit d'accord avec elle-même, on devriot être plus faché qu'elle s'accordât mal aisément avec quelques-uns de nos articles de Religion; mais c'est une coureuse qui ne sait où s'arrêter, et qui comme une autre Pénélope détruit ellemême son propre ouvrage—'diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.' *Elle est plus propre a demolir qu'a batir; elle connoit mieux ce que les choses ne sont pas que ce qu'elles sont.*"†

Seeing thus the judgment pronounced in Scripture, and in the writings of the Fathers, respecting the utter unfitness of Reason to be the judge of Faith, confirmed by the opinions of men so accomplished in all the wisdom of this world, and finding, still farther, a but too convincing corroboration of the same truth in the ruin brought upon Christianity wherever Reason has been allowed to career through its mysteries, I could not hesitate as to the conclusion to which my mind should come. "Either Catholic or Deist," said Fenelon, "there is no other alternative;"—and the appearance which the Christian world wears, at this moment, fully justifies his assertion.‡

* Το πιστει περαν αυτου απολυπεραγμονητον ειναι χρη.

† This keen truth is put even more pointedly in the words of Lactantius, whom he cites:—"Ita philosophi quod summum fuit humanæ scientiæ assecuti sunt, ut intelligerent quid non sit; illud assequi nequiverunt, ut dicerent quid sit."

‡ Much the same process, indeed, as we know took place in the mind of a celebrated searcher of the Scriptures, Doctor Priestly, must, sooner or later, and in a more or less degree, operate throughout a whole nation of searchers. Beginning, as he himself confesses, by being a Calvinist, and that of the strictest sort, he became afterwards a high Arian, next a low Arian, then a Socinian, and, in a little time, a Socinian of that lowest scheme, in which Christ is considered as a mere man. the son of Joseph and Mary, and naturally as fallible and peccable as Moses or any other prophet. Even at this stage, too, thy

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Hail, then, to the, thou one and only true Church, which art alone the way of life, and in whose tabernacle alone there is shelter from all this confusion of tongues. In the shadow of thy sacred Mysteries let my soul henceforth repose, remote alike from the infidel who scoffs at their darkness, and the rash believer who vainly would pry into its recesses;—saying to both, in the language of St. Augustine, "Do you reason, while I wonder; do you dispute, while I shall believe; and, beholding the heights of Divine Power, forbear to approach its depths."*

Doctor honestly avowed, that "he did not know when his creed would be fixed."

In like manner, Chillingworth, the great modern promoter of the cry of "the Bible, the whole Bible," &c. passed from Protestantism to Popery, from Popery back to Protestantism again, then repented almost immediately his reconversion, and, in the end, died, it is supposed, a Socinian. How far gone he was in this latter direction even at the time when he wrote his famous Protestant work, appears from a letter which he wrote to a friend, while employed on that task, and in which, after referring to some ancient authorities, on the subject of the Trinity, he says that whosoever shall freely and impartially consider the matter "shall not choose but confess, or at least be very *inclinable to believe, that the doctrine of Arius is either a truth or at least no damnable heresy.*"—*See Life prefixed to his Works.*

* Tu ratiocinare, ego miror. Tu disputa, ego credam: altitudinem video, ad profundum non pervenio.—He adds, "To you who come to scrutinize what is inscrutable, and to investigate what cannot be investigated, I say, Stop, and Believe,—or you perish!"

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NOTES.

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Irenæus, in citing the Shepherd, calls it "Scripture," from which some have concluded that he really held it to be Canonical:—"illud etiam non omittendum quod Herme Pastorem velut canonicam Scripturam laudet Irenæus." (*Massuet Dissert. Præv. in Iren.*) Lardner, however, has shown that Irenæus uses the word, here, merely as a "writing," or "book."

St. Clement of Alexandria, no less than Origen, seems to have considered the Shepherd as a divinely inspired work.—Θειας τοινυν η δυναμις η τω Ερμα κατα αποκαλυψιν λαλουσα.—*Strom. Lib.* 1.

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So strict a faster was St. Ambrose, that he never dined, we are told, but on Saturdays, on Lord's Days, and the Festivals of Martyrs. It is said that Monica, St. Augustine's mother, was greatly offended, on her coming to Milan, to find Ambrose dining on the Saturday; having observed that day to be kept as a solemn fast of Rome, and in other places, and therefore wondering that it should be held as a festival at Milan.

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"*The Real Presence,*" &c.

It is hardly necessary to say that whenever in these pages, I make use of the phrase Real Presence, I mean to include also the necessary consequence of that miracle, Transubstantiation. Once the corporal Presence is admitted, the change of the substance of the sacramental elements follows as a matter of course. It has been always the policy, however, of Protestants, and for very evident reasons, to direct their attacks solely against the absurd process, as they choose to term it, of Transubstantiation; which is about as shallow and unfair a way of arguing as it would be to assume the mere *numerical* difficulty attendant on the doctrine of the Trinity as the sole grounds for objecting to it.

In the disputations between Catholics and Protestants in the reign of Edward VI., the latter invariably took this unfair vantage ground: the Catholics anxiously, but vainly en-

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deavouring to have the question of the Real Presence settled, in its natural order, previously to the discussion of the question of Transubstantiation. Both the motives and the futility of this subterfuge have been thus well exposed by Bossuet: —"Pour conserver dans les cœurs des peuples la haine du dogme Catholique il a faller la tourner contre un autre objet que la Présence Réelle. La Transubstantiation est maintenant le grand crime: *ce n'est plus rien de mettre Jesus Christ present; de mettre tout un corps dans chaque pareille; le grand crime est d'avoir ote le pain: ce qui regarde Jesus Christ est peu de chose; ce qui regarde le pain est essentielle.*"

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"I am so far from being ashamed," says St. Augustine, "of the Cross, that I do not put the Cross of Christ in some hidden place, but carry it on my forehead."

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The employment of the fish as a symbol of the name of Christ arose from the word ιχθυς being composed of the initial letters of the words Ιησους Χριστος, Θεου υιος, Σωτηρ. In the spurious Sibylline verses, there are some acrostics beginning with these letters. For the same reason, as well as no doubt from their use of the rite of Baptism, Christians themselves were, in the first ages, called Fishes. "Sed nos Pisciculi (says Tertullian) secundum ιχθυν, secundum nostrum Jesum Christum in aquâ noscimur."

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"*On the subject of exclusive salvation as Catholic as need be.*"

This is also the language, however, of the Protestant Church. "The visible Church consists of all those throughout the world who profess the true religion, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation." (*Westminster Confession, ratified by Parliament, A. D.* 1649.) "Christ," says Bishop Pearson, "never appointed two roads to heaven, nor did he build a Church to save some, and another for other men's salvation. As none, then, were saved in the Deluge, but those who were within the ark of Noah, so none shall ever escape the eternal wrath of God, who belong not to the Church of God."—*Exposition of the Creed.*

In cases of invincible ignorance or invincible necessity, the Catholic Church admits of exceptions to this sweeping sentence. Thus, in the *Censure* passed by the Sorbonne on Rousseau's Emile, we find it laid down;—"Tout homme qui est dans l'ignorance invincible des verités de la Foi ne sera jamais puni de Dieu pour n'avoir pas crû ces vérités.

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Telle est la doctrine Chrétienne et Catholique (*Art* 26)—Quant aux communions separées de l'Eglise, les enfants et les simples qui vivent dans ces communions ne participent ni à la hérésie ni au schisme; ils en sont excusés par leur ignorance invincible de l'état des choses. Il n'est pas du tout impossible à ceux qui vivent dans des communions separées de l'Eglise Catholique de parvenir, autant qu'il est nécessaire pour leur sault à la connaissance de la révélation Chrétienne (*art.* 32.")

The eminent Catholic Prelate, Frayssinous, thus asserts the same reasonable and charitable doctrine: "L'ignorance involontaire de la révélation n'est pas une faute punissable . . . . . La révélation Chrétienne est une loi positive, et il est de la nature d'une loi de n'être obligatoire que lorsqu'elle est publiée et connue."—*Conferences.*

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"*The injudicious excess of zeal which led Bonaventura,*" *&c.*

The Psaltery of Bonaventura is one of those monuments of extravagant zeal which, though constantly condemned by Catholics themselves, will as constantly be taken advantage of by their enemies, for the purpose of casting imputations on them. The late Mr. Charles Butler, in replying to the attacks of Mr. Southey and Dr. Philpotts, as well on the subject of this Psaltery, as of the Catholic hymn, *Impera Redemptori*, does not seem to have been aware that Grotius had to perform the same task before him. In reference to a work written by one James Laurence, this great man, writing to his brother, says, "In defiance of all justice, he charges the Psaltery of Bonaventura upon the whole body of Catholics (though it was condemned by the Doctors of the Sorbonne,) and those verses to the Virgin Mary which commence with *Impera Redemptori*, as well as some others which he has quoted from their books."

In the same letter, with his usual enlightened candour, Grotius does justice to the views of the Catholics, on other essential points of their faith. "It is also possible," he says, "for persons in that Communion to avoid idolatry, by honouring the Saints only as the servants of God, by using images as refreshing excitements to their memories, and by venerating in the Sacrament that which is its principal part; as the Council of Trent has made the Adoration of the Sacrament to be tantamount to adoring Christ in the Sacrament." For an account of the efforts made ineffectually by Grotius to inspire with a portion of his own enlarged and conciliatory

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spirit the contending parties of his day, the reader will do well to consult *Nicholl's Arminianism and Calvinism compared*,—a work full of interesting reflection and research.

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With a like view of the subject, Dr. Johnson says, that "the generality of mankind are neither so obstinately wicked as to deserve everlasting punishment, nor so good as to merit being admitted into the society of celestial spirits, and that God is therefore generously pleased to allow a middle state, where they may be purified by a certain degree of suffering."

These testimonies of Paley and Johnson to the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory suggest to me to lay before the reader a few other such candid admissions, on the part of Protestants, of the truth of our Catholic tenets, which I shall here class under their respective heads, referring for farther examples to Chapter XXXIV. of this work.

PROTESTANT TESTIMONIES IN FAVOUR OF CATHOLIC DOCTRINES.

Primacy of the Pope.

The canonical grounds of the Primacy, as well as the necessity of such a jurisdiction for the preservation of unity, are thus strongly asserted by Grotius:—

"Restitutionem Christianorum in unum idemque corpus semper optatum à Grotio sciunt qui eum nôrunt, Existimavit autem aliquando incipi à Protestantium inter se conjunctione. Postea vidit id planè fieri nequire; quia præterquam quod Calvinistorum ingenia ferme omnium ab omni pace sunt alienissima, Protestantes nullo inter se Communi Ecclesiastico regimine sociantur. Quæ causæ sunt cur facile partes in unum Protestantium Corpsu colligi nequent; immo et cur partes aliæ atque aliæ sunt exsurrecturæ. Quare nunc planè sentit Grotius, et multi cum ipso, non posse Protestantes inter se jungi nisi simul jungantur cum iis qui Sedi Romanæ cohærent, sine quâ nullum sperari potest in Ecclesia Commune Regimen. Ideo optat ut ea divulsio quæ evenit et causæ divulsionis tollantur. *Inter est causat non est Primatus Episcopi Romani, secundum Canones, fatente Melancthone, qui eum Primatum etiam necessarium putat* ad retinendam Unitatem."—*Last Reply to Rivetus, Apol. Discuss.*

Grotius had held nearly the same language, with respect to what he calls "the *force* of the Primacy," in his first Reply to Rivetus;—Quæ verò est causa cur qui opinionibus dissident inter Catholicos, maneant eodem corpore non ruptâ

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communione: contra, qui inter Protestantes dissident idem facere nequeant, utcumque multa de dilectione Fraterna loquantur? Hoc qui rectê expendent invenient *quanta sit vis Primatus*."—*Ad Art.* 7.

"Whosoever reads their writings will find those of the fourth and fifth ages giving the supremacy to the Bishop of Rome, and asserting, that to him belongs the care of all Churches."—*Dumoulin, Vocation of Pastors.*

"Rome being a Church consecrated by the residence of St. Peter, whom antiquity acknowledged as the Head of the Apostolic Church, might easily have been considered, by the Council of Chalcedon, as the Head of the Church."—*Blondel on the Supremacy.*

In the course of some observations on the subject of the Papal Power and its advantages during the middle ages, Daines Barrington says, "There was a great use to Europe in general from their being a common referee in all national controversies, who could not himself ever think of extending his dominions, though he might often make a most improper use of his power as a meditator." He adds, "The ancients seem to have found the same convenience, in referring their disputes to the Oracle at Delphi."—*Observations on the ancient Statutes.*

After acknowledging the uncertainty of the Scriptures as a rule of faith, a living writer, Dr. Arnold, continues thus:—"Aware of this state of things, and aware also, with characteristic wisdom, of the deadly evil of religious divisions, the Roman Catholic Church ascribed to the sovereign power in the Christian society, in every successive age, an infallible spirit of truth, whereby the real meaning of any disputed passage of Scripture might be certainly and authoritatively declared; and if the Scripture were silent, then the living voice of the Church might supply its place; and being guided by the same Spirit which had inspired the Written Word, might pronounce upon any new point of controversy with a decision of no less authority."—*Principles of Church Reform.*

Penance, Confession, &c.

"Even the long and tedious penances, which were of old enjoined to excommunicated persons, were only proofs of the faithful tenderness of the primitive pastors towards the souls of their people. Divines of late years, have laboured to prove that Repentance imports nothing but an act of the mind; and 'tis true, that the repentance which fits grown

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men for baptism, does imply no more than a mere change of our resolution.... but that repentance which is required of Christians, who, fallen from grace, and run into habits of vice or acts of very grievous sin, is of another sort, and was believed by the Guides and Fathers of the Apostolic age to import outward austerities, frequent fastings, and a long course of humiliation, in public as well as in private, as they sufficiently showed by their constant practice..... We have reason to believe, that when St. Paul speaks of some at Corinth, that 'they had not repented of the uncleanness which they had committed,' his meaning was, that they had not openly and solemnly humbled themselves in the face of the congregation for their crimes."—*Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice.*

The same writer continues, "Christians have lost the true notion of perfect repentance for sins after baptism, which the Primitive Church did justly believe to consist in a long course of fasting, praying, confessing openly in the Church, deploring and bewailing former sins.... This was the 'Repentance to salvation never to be repented of' which the Apostles and Primitive fathers required of those Christians who had sinned with a high hand.

"It is confessed, that all priests, and none but priests, have power to forgive sins; that private confession to a priest is a very ancient practice in the Church."—*Bishop Montague's Gagger Gagged.*

"Our confession must be *integra* et *perfecta*, not by halves. All our sins must be confessed,—*omnia venialia et omnia mortalia.* God alone blots out sin:—true. But there is another confessor that would not be neglected. He who would be sure of pardon, let him find a priest, and make his humble confession to him. Heaven waits and expects the priest's sentence here, and what he binds or looses, the Lord confirms in Heaven."—*Bishop Sparrow's Sermon on Confession.*

"When you find yourselves charged and oppressed.... have recourse to your spiritual physician, and freely disclose the nature and malignancy of your disease. Nor come to him only with such mind as you would go to a learned man, as one that can speak comfortable things to you, but as to one that hath authority delegated to him from God himself, to absolve you from your sins."—*Chillingworth.*

"Confession is an excellent institution—a check to vice. It is admirably calculated to win over hearts, which have been ulcerated by hatred, to forgiveness; and to induce those

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who have been guilty of injustice, to make restitution." *Voltaire.*

"What restitutions and reparations does not confession produce among the Catholics!"—*Rousseau.*

*Tradition.**

"It is evident, from the Scriptures themselves, that the whole of Christianity was at first delivered to the Bishops succeeding the Apostles, by *oral* tradition, and they were also commanded to keep and deliver it to their successors in *like* manner. Nor is it any where found in Scripture, by St. Paul or any other Apostle, that they would either jointly or separately, write down all they had taught as necessary to salvation, or make such a complete canon of them, that nothing should be necessary to salvation but what should be found in those writings."—*Dr. Brett, Tradition Necessary.*

"Here (2 Thessalon. vi.) we see plain mention of St. Paul's traditions, consequently of Apostolic Traditions, delivered by word of mouth, as well as by writing, and a condemnation of those who do not equally observe both."—*Ibid.*

"Traditions instituted by Christ, in points of faith, have *divine* authority, as the *written* word hath: traditions from the Apostles have equal authority with their writings; and

*On the truth of the Catholic doctrine, respecting Tradition, the reader will find all that is most cogent and convincing in Dr. Lingard's powerful *Strictures upon Bishop Marsh's Comparative View, &c.* The arguments by which this eminent divine shows that, without the aid of Tradition, the inspiration of the Scriptures themselves cannot be proved, are altogether unanswerable. "How (he asks) can the Scriptures prove their own inspiration? It is on their inspiration that all their doctrinal authority depends, You must show that they are inspired before you can deduce a single point of doctrine from their testimony. If in attempting to demonstrate the inspiration of any book, you pre-suppose its inspiration, you fall into a *petitio principii;* you take for granted what you have undertaken to prove. If you do not pre-suppose its inspiration, then its testimony on that point is of no more authority than the testimony of any profane or ecclesiastical writer . . . . . Perhaps it may be said that the writers appear, from the tradition of testimony, to have been the apostles of Christ; that they were under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; that they could not teach a false doctrine; and that, of course, their writings must be inspired. But whence is all this information obtained? If from the tradition of testimony, it is then false that the inspiration of the Scripture can be proved from Scripture only; if from the Scripture, then you must prove its inspiration before you can exact the belief of the reader to such assertions. Hence, I conclude, that to determine the Canon or the inspiration of the Scripture from the Scripture alone is impracticable: the knowledge of both must be derived from *Tradition.*

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no Protestant in his senses will deny that the Apostles spoke much more than is written."—*Montague's Gagger Gagged.*

Dr. Waterland, observing, on the authority of Irenæus, that "Polycarp had converted great numbers to the Faith by the strength of Tradition," adds that it "was a sensible argument, and more affecting at that time than any dispute from the bare letter of Scripture could be."—*Imp. of the Doct. of the Trin.*

Prayers for the Dead, and Purgatory.

"Let not the ancient practice of praying and making oblations for the Dead, be any more rejected by Protestants as unlawful. It is a practice received throughout the universal Church of Christ, which did ever believe it both pious and charitable. Many of the Fathers were of opinion that some light sins, not remitted in this life, were forgiven, after death, by the intercession of the Church in her public prayers, and especially those which were offered up in the celebration of the tremendous mysteries; and it is no absurdity to believe so. The practice of praying for the Dead is derived, as Chrysostom asserts, from the Apostles." *Bp. Forbes on Purgatory.*

"That Austin concludes, very clearly, that some souls do suffer temporal pains after death cannot be denied."—*Fulke's Confutation of Purgatory.*

After mentioning the different opinions of the Fathers respecting the purgatorial process through which souls are to pass, Leibnitz thus beautifully, and in the true Catholic spirit, concludes:—"Quidquid hujus sit, plerique omnes consenserunt in castigationem sive purgationem post hanc vitam, qualiscunque ea esset, quam ipsæ animæ ab excessu ex corpore, illuminatæ et conspectâ tunc imprimis præteritæ vitæ imperfectione, et peccati fæditate maxima tristitia tactæ sibi accersunt libenter, nollentque aliter ad culmen beatitudinis pervenire."—*Systema Theologicum.*

"There is one proof of the Propitiatory nature of the Eucharist according to the sentiments of the ancient Church which will be thought but only too great; and that is, the devotions used in the Liturgies and so often spoken of by the Fathers, in behalf of deceased souls. There is, I suppose, no Liturgy without them, and the Fathers frequently speak of them. St. Chrysostom mentions it as an institution of the Apostles. St. Austin asserts that such prayers are beneficial to those who have led lives so moderately good as to deserve them. Cyril of Jerusalem mentions a prayer for those who are gone to sleep before us; and St. Cyprian mentions the

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denial of those prayers, as a censure passed upon some men by his predecessors. Tertullian spoke of this practice as prevailing in his time, and the Constitutions do require Priests and people to use these sorts of devotion for the souls of those that die in the Faith."—*Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice.*

"Dr. Whitby," says the same writer, "has fully proved, in his annotations on 2 Tim. iv. 4, that the primitive Fathers, and even the Apostles, did not believe that the souls of the Faithful are admitted into Heaven before the Day of Judgment. It was, I suppose, from hence concluded that they were, in the interim, in a state of expectance and were capable of an increase of light and refreshment. Since praying for them, while in this state, was no where forbidden, they judged it, therefore, lawful, and if it were lawful, no more need be said,—Nature will do the rest. The only use I make of it is to prove that the ancients believed the Eucharist to be a Propitiatory Sacrifice, and therefore put up these prayers for their deceased friends, in the most solemn part of the Eucharistic Office, after the symbols had received the finishing consecration."

"It must be admitted that there are, in Tertullian's writings, passages which seem to imply that in the interval between death and the general resurrection, the souls of those who are destined to eternal happiness undergo a purification from the stains which even the best men contract during their lives."—*Bishop Kaye.*

Among Protestant testimonies to this ancient and Christian custom of praying for the Dead, we should not omit the two Epitaphs written for themselves by Bishop Barrow, of St. Asaph, and Mr. Thorndike, Prebendary of Westminster. In the Epitaph of the Bishop are the following words: —"O vos transeuntes in domum Domini, domum orationis, orate pro conservo vestro, ut inveniat misericordiam in die Domini."—"Oh ye, who pass into the House of the Lord, into the House of prayer, pray for your fellow-servant, that he may find mercy in the day of the Lord." In like manner Thorndike, in his epitaph, intreats that the reader will pray for rest to his soul: "Tu lector requiem eiet beatam in Christo resurrectionem precare."

Invocation of Saints.

"If the Roman Church will declare at once that she has no other confidence in the Saints than in the living, and that in whatsoever terms her prayers to them may be couched, they are to be understood of simple *intercession* alone, that

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is, 'Holy Mary, pray for me to thy divine Son,'—if, I say, the Catholics will but declare this,* then all danger in such prayers is over."—*Molanus's Answer to Bossuet.*

"I do not deny but the Saints are mediators of prayer and intercession for all in general. They interpose with God

* Such is, and ever has been, the declaration of Catholics; as will appear from the following exposition of their faith on this point, given in a tract of high authority, entitled *Roman Catholic Principles*, and quoted in that standard work, "The Faith of Catholics."—"Catholics are persuaded that the angels and the saints in heaven replenished with charity, pray for us, the fellow-members of the latter here on earth; that they rejoice in our conversion: that, seeing God, they see and know in him all things suitable to their happy state; and that God may be inclined to hear their requests made in our behalf, and for their sakes may grant us many favours—therefore, we believe that it is good and profitable to invoke their intercession.—Can this manner of invocation be more injurious to Christ our mediator than it is for one Christian to beg the prayers of another here on earth? However, Catholics are not taught so to rely on the prayers of others as to neglect their own duty to God, in imploring his divine mercy and goodness in mortifying the deeds of the flesh; in despising the world; in loving and serving God and their neighbours; in following the footsteps of Christ our Lord, who is the way, the truth, and the life."

Another point upon which Catholics have, as constantly and as unavailingly, to disclaim the gross notions imputed to them, is their veneration for Holy Pictures and Images—a veneration which they give, "*Not* as believing (says the Council of Trent) that there is in such pictures and images any divinity or virtue for which they should be honoured; or that any thing is to be asked of them, or any trust to be placed in them, as the Gentiles once did on their idols: but because the honour given to pictures is referred to the Prototypes which they represent." In the Catechism of the Roman Catholics, one of the questions asked is, "Whether the Catholics pray to images?"—The answer to which is, "No, they do not;" and this reason is added, "because they neither can see, nor hear, nor help us." So far, indeed, from sanctioning the adoration of Images, the Catholics are accustomed to repeat every week the 97th Psalm, in which are these emphatic words: "Confounded be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols;" and every Sunday, at Even Song, they repeat Psalm cxv. equally denouncing idols, and containing a sort of imprecation on idolators, that "all men may become like them (the idols) who make them and put their trust in them."

The great Leibnitz thus philosophically explains and defends the Catholic reverence for images:—"Posito igitur nullam aliam admitti venerationem imaginum quam quæ sit veneratio prototypi coram imagine, non magis in eâ erit idololatria quam in veneratione quæ Deo et Christo exhibetur, sanctissimo ejus nomine pronuntiato.—Nam et nomina sunt notæ et quidem imaginibus longè inferiores rem enim multo minus repræsentant . . . . . coram imagine externa adorare non magis reprehendendum esse quam adorare coram imagine interna quæ in phantasia nostra depicta est: nullus enim alius usus externæ imaginis quam ut interna expressior fiat."—*Systema Theologicum.*

We find Archbishop Wake, as quoted by Middleton, saying, "he did not scruple to declare that, as to the honours due to the genuine relics of the Martyrs or Apostles, no Protestant would ever refuse whatever the Primitive Churches paid to them."

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by their intercessions and meditate by their prayers."—*Bishop Montague, Antidote.*

"Indeed, I grant that Christ is not wronged in his mediation."—*Montague on Invocation of Saints.*

"It is no impiety to say, as Papists say, 'Holy Mary, pray for me!'—Nay, could I come at the Saints, I would, without any question, willingly say, 'Holy Peter, pray for me!' I would run with open arms, fall upon my knees, and desire them to pray for me. I see no absurdity in nature, no repugnancy at all to Scripture, much less impiety, for any man to say 'Holy Angel Guardian, pray for me!'"—*Ib.*

"I confess that Ambrose, Austin, and Jerome, did hold invocation of Saints to be lawful."—*Fulke, Rejoinder to Bristow.*

"It is confessed that all the Fathers of both Greek and Latin Churches, Basil, Nazianzem, Ambrose, Jerome, Austin, Chrysostom, Leo, and all after their time, have spoken to the Saints and desired their assistance."—*Thorndyke's Epilogue.*

The Sacrifice in the Eucharist.

"The Sacrifice of the Supper is not only propitiatory and may be offered up for the remission of our daily sins, but impetratory, and may be rightly offered to obtain all blessings; and, though the Scripture does not teach this in express words, yet the Holy Fathers, with unanimous consent, have thus understood the Scriptures, as has been demonstrated by many and must be evident to all."—*Bishop Forbes, de Eucharistia.*

"It seems strange to you 'that a matter of so great importance, as I seem to make this Sacrifice to be, should have so little evidence in God's word and antiquity, and depend merely upon certain conjectures.' As for Scripture, if you mean the *name* of Sacrifice, neither is the *name* Sacrament nor Eucharist (according to our expositions) there to be found,—no more than ομοουσιος,—yet may not the *thing* be? But when you speak of so little evidence to be found in *antiquity*, I cannot but think such an affirmation far more strange than you can possibly think my opinion. For, what is there in Christianity for which more antiquity can be brought than for this? . . . . . Eusebius Altkircherus, a Calvinist, printed at Newstadt, in the Palatinate, in 1584 and 1591, *De Mystico et incruento Ecclesiæ Sacrificio*, in which he says, 'This was always the standing, accordant, and unanimous opinion of all the ancient Fathers of the Church, that the memorial of the passion and death of Christ, in the Holy

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Supper instituted by him, contained also in itself the commendation of a Sacrifice."—*Mede, Letter to Twisse.*

"I suppose all Protestants will allow that Christ's sacrifice was intended for the expiation of sin; and, if so, they cannot think it strange that it was offered before it was slain, and that by the Priest himself—for it is clear this was the method prescribed by Moses of old. It will presently be shown that the body and blood of Christ were intended as a sacrifice of consecration, as well as expiation, and that therefore the proper time of offering them was before he was actually slain as a sacrifice . . . . And if Christ gave or offered himself in the Eucharist, I presume I need not labour to prove that Priests are to do what he then did. We have his express commands to do or offer this in Remembrance of him, and I have abundantly demonstrated that this was the constant, unanimous judgment of the Primitive Church for the first 400 years after Christ."—*Johnson, Unbloody Sacrifice.*

"There is yet a more evident proof to be found in the Scripture, even in the very words of the Institution, to prove that we are required to *offer* the bread and wine to God, when we celebrate the Holy Eucharist, 'This *do* in remembrance of me.' Dr. Hickes, in his Christian Priesthood, p. 58, &c. proves, by a great many instances, that the word ποιειν, *to do*, also signifies *to offer*, and is very frequently used both by profane authors, and by the Greek translators of the Old Testament in that sense; and so also is the Latin word *facere*. I will transcribe a few of those instances, and those who desire more may consult Dr. Hickes's book.

"Herodotus, lib. 1, cap. cxxxii. says, 'Without one of the Magi, it is not lawful for them, ποιειν, to offer a sacrifice. And in the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, which all the learned know is followed by the writers of the New Testament, even where they cite the words and speeches of our Saviour, it is so used; as Exod. xxix. 36. 'Thou shalt offer, ποιησεις, a bullock;' verse 38, 'This is that which, ποιησεις, thou shalt offer upon the altar;' verse 39, 'The one lamb, ποιησεις, thou shalt offer in the morning, and the other lamb, ποιησεις, thou shalt offer in the evening.' So likewise Exod. x. 25. In all which places the word, which is translated *offer*, and which in this last text is translated *sacrifice*, and which in these and many other places will bear *no other* sense, is the very word which in the institution of the Eucharist is translated *Do*. And even our English translators have sometimes used the word *Do* in this sacrificial

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sense; as particularly Lev. iv. 20. Here our English translation is, 'And he shall *do* with the bullock, as he *did* with the bullock for a sin offering, so shall he *do* with this.' Here, indeed, they have put in the word *with*, without any authority. The Greek is, 'he shall *do* the bullock, as he *did* the bullock, so shall he *do* this;' where *do* plainly signifies *offer*. . . . . That the words of the institution, τουτο ποιειτε, *do this*, are to be understood in this sacrificial sense, is manifest from the command concerning the cup, which is, 'This *do* ye, as oft as you drink it, in remembrance of me.' For except we understand the words in such a sense, they will be a plain tautology. But translate it, as I have showed the words will very probably bear, '*Offer this:* make an oblation or libation of this, *as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of me*,' and the sense is very good. A Priest, therefore, is necessary and essential to the due administration of the sacrament."—*Dr. Brett, True Scrip. Account of the Eucharist.*

For the best *Catholic* arguments on all the above points, I beg to refer to the Earl of Shrewsbury's comprehensive and able *Reasons for not taking the Test*, &c., and Dr. Baines. lively and acute Answers to Archdeacon Daubeny, &c.

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"*The Eucharist prefigured in the offerings of the Old Law.*"

Clement of Alexandria, among the rest, expressly says, that Melchisedeck distributed bread and wine, as consecrated food, for a *type* of the Eucharist:—την ηγιασμενην διδους τροφην εις τυπον ευχαριστιας.—*Stromat. Lib.* 4.

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"*If it had so great power in the type, &c.*"

In the same sense, Eusebius says "We with good reason daily celebrating the memorial of Christ's body and blood, and being dignified with a better victim and Hierurgy than the old people, do not think it safe to fall back to the former weak elements that contain *symbols and images, not the Verity.*"—ουκ ετι οσιον ηγουμεθα καταπιπτειν επι τα πρωτα και ασθενη στοιχεια συμβολα και εικονα, αλλ' ουκ αυτην αληθειαν περιεχοντα.—*Demonstrat. Evangel.*

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To Schelstrate, who held that the Discipline of the Secret was in full force of operation, during the second century, this instance of boldness, on the part of St. Justin, in promulgating the doctrine of Transubstantiation to the Gentiles, appears naturally a disconcerting and puzzling fact. "Cum

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enim Romanum Senatum Gentilem tunc fuisse, Antoninum quoque cum ejus filiis Paganos extitisse, certum sit, ostendi debet quomodo, salvâ disciplinâ Arcani tan clarè de Baptismi ritibus et Eucharistiæ Sacramentis tractare potuerit Justinus." His solution of the difficulty is, that Justin was led to so daring a step by the necessity of vindicating the Christians against the calumnies of which they were then the object.

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Among the clearest and strongest arguments that have been advanced as well for the application of John vi. to the Eucharist as for the connexion of the Eucharist itself with the Incarnation, may be accounted those brought forward by the famous Bretschneider in his Treatise on the Gospel and Epistles of St. John; nor is the opinion of this writer the less worthy of attention from his being himself wholly uninterested in the decision of the question, (at least as it stands between Protestants and Catholics,) the object of his book being no less than to prove that this Gospel was not written by St. John at all, but by some Gnostic imposter of a later period.

I shall here subjoin, for the learned reader, a passage from this Treatise, in which, comparing the account given of the Docetæ by Ignatius, and the repugnance felt by these heretics to the doctrine of a Real Presence, with the announcements made by Jesus in the sixth Chapter of St. John, Bretschneider shows that our Saviour's language was directed against their heresy, and had no other object than to establish, in opposition to their views, the reality and verity of his own flesh in the Sacrament:—

"Non vero omnibus eandem fuisse sententiam, et Docetas nominatim negasse in eucharistia adesse Jesu carnem s. corpus, ex Ignatii epistolis videmus, quae vel maxime non sint genuinae, tamen haud dubie seculo secundo debentur. Hic vero, et quidem epist. ad Smyrnaeos c 6. p. 37, ed. Cleric., legitur locus, mirum in modum cum nostro congruens. Ignatius enim de Docetis, ευκαριστιας, inquit, και προσευχης (i. e. precum in eucharistia faciendarum, puto της επικλησεως του πνευματος αγιου) απεχονται δια το μη ομολογειν την ευχαριστιαν σαρκα ειναι του σωτηρος ημων Ἰησου Χριστου, την υπερ αμαρτιων ημων παθουσαν, ην τηχριντοτητι ο πατηρ ηγαρενε· οι ουν αντι λεγοντες τη δωρεα του θεου, σιζητουντες απεθνησκουσι συνεφερει δε αυτοις αγαπαν (i. e. agapen celebrare) ινα και αναστωσουσιν.—

"Vide vero, quam apta sint ea, quae Jesu in nostro loco tribuuntur, ad refellendos ejusmodi eucharistiae contemtores!

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"1. *Negant:* *την ευχαριστιαν σαρκα ειναι του Ιησου, την υπερ αμαρτιων ημων παθουσαν.*

"2. Appellatur *σαρξ* Christi *δωρεα του θεου.*

"3. Dicuntur adversarii eucharistiae et corporis domini *συζητουντες αποθνησκειν*, sine spe immortalitatis esse, cum contra si eucharistia uterentur efficeretur *ινα και αναστασιν*, ut etiam ipsi, ut reliqui fideles, resurgerent ad vitam.

"1. Affirmavit Jesus v. 51: *ο αρτος ον εγω δωσω η σαρξ μου εστιν, ην εγω δωσω υπερ της του κοσμου ζωης.* v. 55: *η σαρξ μου αληθως εστι βρωσις, και το αιμα μου αληθως εστι ποσις.*

"2. Dicitur *σαρξ* v. 51. 58. *αρτος, ο εκ του ουρανου καταβας.*

"3. Docet Jesus: majorem judaeorum panem coelestem Mosis quidem comedisse, sed tamen mortuos esse, v. 49, 58.—negat, v. 53: *εαν μη φαγητε την σαρκα του υιου του ανθρωπου, και πιητε αυτου το αιμα, ουκ εχετε ζωην εν εαυτοις*—affirmat. contra: *ο τρωγων μου την σαρκα, και πινων μου το αιμα, εχει ζωην αιωνιον. και εγω αναστησω αυτον τη εσχατη ημερα.* Idem promiv. 50. 51. 57.

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Remarking on the lame and impotent manner, in which Dr. Whitby endeavours to explain away the import of 1 Cor. x. 16, 17, Johnson says, "The most that the learned Dr. Whitby can make out of this is,—'The Bread broken and shared out may be said to be the Communion or Communication of the Body of Christ as being the communication of that Bread which represented his broken body; and the Cup they severally drink of may be styled the Communication of the Blood of Christ, as being the communication of that wine that represented his bloodshed.' *It may be said, it may be styled*, says the Doctor,—by which it is intimated that, if it be so said or styled, it is in a very remote and improper sense, only so as to bring our Saviour and the Apostle off from being guilty of an absurdity.

In reference to Whitby's attempt to class the text of "This bread is my body" with "the Three Branches are three days"—"the seven good kine are seven years," (Gen. xli. 26,) "The four great beasts are four kings," (Dan. vii. 17,) "Thou art that head of gold," (Dan. ii. 38,) Johnson remarks, "So that it should seem the bread of the Eucharist is, in the Doctor's judgment, no otherwise the body of Christ than the visionary head of gold was Nebuchadnezzar!" He then adds, "Our Saviour having positively affirmed 'It is

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my body,' Dr. Whitby, in good manners, thinks himself obliged not to contradict Christ Jesus, and, therefore, confesses it *may be so said, it may be so styled*, just as the Three Branches are said to be Three Days. But Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and Ignatius did not thus expound away the life and efficacy of the Sacrament into mere cold and empty types.

"The learned writer just referred to cites the following remarkable passage from St. Augustine, confirmatory alike of the two Catholic points of belief, the high authority of tradition, and the vital nature of the Eucharist, as asserted in John vi.—'The Punick Christians do rightly call Baptism nothing but Salvation, and the Sacrifice of the Body of Christ nothing but Life.—And whence have they this but from an ancient and, I think, apostolical tradition, by which they hold it to be a principle innate in the Church of Christ that the kingdom of Heaven (or Salvation) cannot be had without Baptism. And what do they hold who call the Sacrament of the Lord's Table, Life, but that which was said, 'I am the Bread of Life, and except ye eat of the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you,'" "This (remarks Johnson) is a most ample testimony that the African Churches did believe John vi. to be meant of the Sacrament; and it seems this way of speaking was of so long standing that St. Austin thought it an Apostolic tradition, an innate principle of Christianity—'quâ Ecclesiæ Christi institutum tenent.'"

Page 66.

"In speaking of those heretics who abstained from the Eucharist, Ignatius pronounces sentence upon them in these words, 'It were better for them to receive it (the Eucharist,) that, through it, they might one day rise again.' Now, that the Eucharist is the means of a happy resurrection cannot be allowed to be the doctrine of Scripture, except John vi. be meant of the Eucharist, and therefore this Holy Martyr, when he does once and again assert that this is a privilege conferred on us by the Eucharist must, of consequence, be of this sentiment that our Saviour there spoke of his sacramental body and blood."

"Moreover, I insist that there were several doctrines which prevailed in the first ages of Christianity that could not be grounded on any other authority of Scripture than this of John vi., as understood of the Eucharist, viz.—that, by abstaining from the Holy Eucharist Christians do incur the penalty of eternal damnation,—that the Holy Spirit is

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particularly present in the Eucharist,—that the Eucharist conveys to all worthy receivers a principle of happy immortality."—*Johnson.*

"The ancients knew," adds the same writer, "that our Saviour there spoke of the Eucharist, and they did by no means believe that Christ in the Holy Sacrament feeds the souls of men with mere dry metaphors or catachreses.—Though they did not understand Christ in a literal sense, as the Capernaites did, yet neither, on the other hand, did they suppose that it was the intention of Christ to puzzle his auditors, and even stagger his own disciples, with strained enigmatical sayings,—for they believed he spoke of a real mystery; and that he was now opening his intention of establishing the most divine Sacrament of his Flesh and Blood, and to raise in them just thoughts and apprehensions of that heavenly Mystery, he speaks of it in the most elevated words."

CONNEXION BETWEEN THE EUCHARIST AND THE MYSTERY OF THE INCARNATION.

"The difficulties," says the Rev. Mr. Rutter, "which Protestants allege against Transubstantiation are not greater than those which the Socinians may and do urge against the Incarnation: as will appear from the following parallel:—

Protestants reject Transubstantiation,	*The Socinians may equally reject the Incarnation,*
1. Because the senses judge the host to be mere bread.	1. Because the senses judge Christ to be a mere man.
2. Because one body will be in two or more places.	2. Because one person will be in two natures.
3. Because the same body will move and not move, be visible and not visible, mortal and immortal, passible and impassible.	3. Because the same person will be both God and man, visible and not visible, mortal and immortal, passible and impassible, &c.
4. Because Christ would be in the form of a wafer.	4. Because an immense God would be in the form of a simple man.
5. Because Christ's body would be in a form opposite to human nature.	5. Because God would be in a form opposite to the divine nature.
6. Because Christ's body would be eaten by sinners.	6. Because God would be crucified by sinners.
7. How can Christ's body be	7. How can Christ be con-

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confined in the tabernacle, and be also in heaven?	fined in the womb of a virgin, and be also in heaven?
8. Because it appears absurd to adore Christ in the sacrament.	8. Because it appears absurd to adore him who was born of a woman, and afterwards crucified by man.

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"St. Justin, in affirming that Christians were, in his time, instructed that the Bread and Wine *were* the Flesh and Blood, and that they were *made* so by Prayer, must intend something more than naked types: for there is no occasion for Prayer, or for the Divine Concurrence, *toties quoties*, to render any thing a resemblance of another; and I dare say that the Arminians and Socinians will bear witness that nothing but breaking the bread and pouring out the wine is necessary to make the elements the Body and Blood in their sense, who believe them to be nothing more than mere memorandums."—*Johnson.*

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In his Homily on the 10th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, v. 16, 17, St. Chrysostom says, "The Apostle speaks so as to make us *believe* and *tremble*, for he asserts, that what is in the cup is that which flowed out of Christ's side, and of this we partake." In referring to this passage, Johnson pertinently asks, "What is there in a *Type* to make a man *tremble?*"

Page 78.

A curious testimony to the strictness with which, on the subject of the Eucharist, the Discipline of the Secret continued to be observed even in the Fourth Century is to be found in the arguments brought forward by Deylingius against Peiresc, on the subject of a coin of Constantine the Great, discovered by the latter, upon which he had persuaded himself he could trace the figure of an altar, bearing on it the Eucharistic wafer, or Host. Deylingius, a fierce opponent of the Sacrifice of the Mass, and therefore interested in getting rid of all proofs of its antiquity, contended, and I believe with truth (as far as the coin was concerned) that the round figure which Peiresc took for the Host was but the common emblem of the "globus mundi," —that, at the time when the coin was struck, Constantine had not yet been baptized, and could, therefore, know nothing of the Eucharist; and that, even *had* he known of it, the rules of the Discipline of the Secret would have prevented his revealing to the Pagans any thing connected with such a mystery.

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Page 89.

"*Testimonies of the Fathers respecting the Eucharist.*"

To these extracts, on the subject of the Eucharist, I shall venture to add a few more which seem to have escaped the notice of my friend, and for which I am indebted to the invaluable work of the Rev. Mr. Berington, "The Faith of Catholics."

Origen.—"In former times, Baptism was obscurely represented in the cloud and in the sea, but now regeneration is in kind, in water and in the Holy Ghost. Then, obscurely, manna was the food; but now, in kind, the *flesh of the Word of God is the true food;* even, as he said, 'My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.'"—*Hom. 7, in Num.*

St. Ambrose.—"If *Heretics deny that adoration should* be *paid to the mysteries* of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, they may read in the Scripture, that the Apostles also adored him, after he had risen again in a glorified body." He then speaks of "*the very flesh of Jesus Christ, which, to this day, we adore in our sacred mysteries.*" (Quam hodie quoque in mysteriis adoramus.)

St. Gaudentius.—"Believe what is announced to thee; because what thou receivest is the body of that celestial bread, and the blood of that sacred Vine; for when he delivered consecrated bread and wine to his disciples, thus he said, 'This is my body, this is my blood.' *Let us believe him, whose faith we profess; for truth cannot lie.*"—*Tract. II. de Pasch.*

St. Gregory of Nyssa.—"It is by virtue of the benediction that the nature of the visible species is changed into his body. The bread, also, is at first common bread, but when it has been sanctified it is called, and is made the body of Christ. Τη της ευλογιας δυναμει προς εκεινο μεταστοιχιουσας την φαινομενην την φυσιν."—*Orat. in Bapt. Christi.*

Before those heretical notions which prevailed, respecting the Trinity and the Real Presence, had rendered it necessary, in speaking of these mysteries, to employ a word denoting actual *substance*, the Fathers of the Church employed a variety of terms to describe the change which takes place in the Eucharist. Μετοστοιχιωσις is, we see, the phrase used in the passage just cited, by Gregory of Nyssa. In Theophylect we find Μεταποιησις employed for the same purpose, and the different words, Μεταβολη, Μεταχηματισμος, Μεταρρυθμισις, Μετασκευασμος have each been used, by some one or other of the Fathers, to express the miraculous change.—When the Phantastic heretics, however, had begun to spi-

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ritualize away the reality of the Presence, and the opposers of the Trinity to resolve into mere concord and consent the mysterious Oneness of the Father and Son, it became necessary for the orthodox to assert the *substantiality* in both mysteries; and hence the introduction of those two words, equally unauthorized by Scripture—Consubstantial and Transubstantiation.

Page 91.

In the Liturgy used by St. Cyril of Jerusalem we find the sense both of himself and his Church expressed—Παρακαλουμεν τον φιλανθρωπον Θεον το αγιον πνευμα εξαποστειλαι επι τα προκειμενα ινα ποιηση τον μεν αρτον σωμα Χριστου τον δε οινον αιμα Χριστου· παντως γαρ ου αν εφαψαιτο το 'αγιον πνευμα τουτο ηγιασται και μεταβεβληται. "We beseech of God, the lover of souls, to send down his Holy Spirit upon these gifts laid in open view, that he may make the bread the body of Christ and the wine the blood of Christ. For, to whatever the Holy Ghost gives a contact, that thing is *consecrated and changed.*"

Page 95.

"*The special selection by the Christians of those days for Festivals,*" *&c.*

"On voit par le Calendrier de Bucherus et par d'autres que les Romains avoient le 25 Decembre une fête marquée Dies Invicti, en l'honneur du retour du Soliel. Elle se faisait avec de grandes réjouissances. Ce fut apparemment pour s'opposer à la licence de cette Fête que l'Eglise Romaine placa en ce même jour celle de la naissance de Jesus Christ. De même qu'on institua la procession du jour de S. Marc, pour l'opposer à celle que faisoient les Païens ce même jour 25 Avril, en l'honneur du Dieu Rubigo, et les luminaires de la fête de la Purification tout de même."—*Longuerue.*

On comparing my friend's account of the numerous instances in which the early Christians borrowed from Paganism, with the famous Letter of Middleton, in which the same task is, with a very different object, undertaken, the reader will perceive how meagre and limited were Middleton's inquiries on the subject.

Page 105.

The following is the grave and matter of fact language in which Luther described his theological controversy with the Devil:—"Contigit me semel sub mediam noctem subitò expergefieri. Ibi Satan mecum cæpit ejusmodi disputationem Audé inquit, Luthere, doctor perdocte, Noctè etiam te quin-

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decim annis celebrasse massas privatùs penè quotidiè? Quod si tales massæ privatæ horrenda esset idololatria? Cui respondi, sum unctus sacerdos . . . hæc omnia feci ex mandato et obedientia majorum: hæc nosti. Hoc inquit, totum est verum; sed Turcæ et Gentilis etiam faciunt omnia in suis templis ex obedientiâ. In his angustiis, in hoc agone contra Diabolum volebum retundere hostem armis quibus assuetus sum sub papatu, &c. Verum Satan è contra fortius et vehementius instans, age, inquit, prome ubi scriptum est quod homo impius possit consecrare, &c., &c. Hæc fere erat disputationis summa."—*De unct. et. Mis. Privat.*

Chillingworth supposes that the intention of Satan in arguing against the Mass was to induce his antagonist to persevere in saying it. (*Relig. of Prot.*)

Page 110.

"*My flesh which I will give for the* Life *of the world.*"

"Nor are we to wonder if Christ made something else besides Faith and obedience to the moral laws necessary to eternal salvation. Man, even in Paradise, had a positive Law given him, over and above the Laws of Nature and of Reason, namely, that he should not eat of the fruit of the Tree of Good and Evil. If he had even obeyed in this, he could not have attained eternal happiness without eating of the Tree of Life,—to show that eternal Life and perfect obedience are two things that have no necessary dependence on each other. For the same reason he hath required Christians not only to believe and obey in other respects, but in order to secure ourselves a happy resurrection, he directs us to feed on the Bread of Life, the Holy Eucharist. For, by making this a necessary condition, without which we cannot attain immortal happiness, he gives us a demonstration that Eternal Life is the gift of God, and not the wages of our righteousness and obedience. When, therefore our Saviour says, 'He that believeth in me hath eternal life,' the meaning is, not that Faith alone is sufficient to salvation, but that a true believer, by being a member of Christ's Church and enjoying the Eucharist, has the means of eternal life provided for him by Christ Jesus, as Adam, by living in Paradise, and having the Fruit of the Tree of Life within his reach, might be said to have eternal life; and it is very observable how unanimous the ancient writers of the Church are, not only in asserting that this Sacrament is necessary to Salvation, but that it is the means by which our bodies have a principle of a happy resurrection conveyed to them."—*Johnson.*

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Page 113. *Note.*

"But the Sacrament was an institution perfectly new and unheard of before, when our Saviour first administered it, in the opinion of those who deny John vi. to relate to this matter. It, therefore, must be supposed that our Saviour did extempore institute and oblige his Apostles to receive the Sacrament without giving them any previous notice or information whereby they might be prepared for it,—unless it be acknowledged that here, in this context, he did give them this notice; for we have not the least intimation of his doing so in any other place of the Histories of the Evangelists. And, therefore, to acquit our Saviour of any such imputation, it ought in reason to be acknowledged that he did it here; and that St. John, observing that the other Evangelists had omitted this discourse, thought it necessary to be inserted in his Gospel: whereas, the history of the Institution being related by the other three, there was no occasion for him to repeat it."—*Ib.*

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"*To show how opposite were the characters of the Jewish and the Christian God.*"

"The difference between the style of the Old and New Testament is so very remarkable, that one of the greatest sects in the primitive times did, upon this very ground, found their heresy of Two Gods; the one evil, fierce, and cruel, whom they called the God of the Old Testament; the other good, kind, and merciful, whom they called the God of the New Testament. So great a difference is there between the representations which are made of God, in the Books of the Jewish and Christian religions, as to give at least some colour and pretence for an Imagination of two Gods."—*Tillotson.*

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In giving an account of the Carpocratians, another branch of these Gnostics, the author of L'Histoire du Gnosticisme, says:—"C'est la Gnosis, c'est la science des Carpocratiens qui donne cette science. Ce n'est pourtant ni une science nouvelle ni une science exclusive; elle a été donné à tous les peuples, ou plutôt les grands hommes de tous les peuples ont pu s'élever jusqu'à elle—Payens ou Juifs, Pythagore, Platon, Aristote, Moïse et Jesus Christ ont possèdé cette Gnosis, la Verité. Cette Gnosis affranchet des lois du monde (Ηαληθεια ελευθερωσειυμας)—elle fait plus; elle affranchit de tout ce que le vulgaire appelle Religion." In a note, the

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author adds;—"Voilà une école *meprisable* qui proclame il y a seize siécles l'Universalisme le plus philosophique et le plus religieux que connaisse notre tems."

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"*The Gnostics forerunners of the Anabaptists,*" &c.

Of the Carpocratians, the historian of Gnosticism says, "Tout ce que les docteurs orthodoxes appeloient les *bonnes œuvres* ils le traitoient de choses extérieures, indifférentes . . . . C'est par *la foi* et sans les œuvres que les orthodoxes se recommendaient à côté d'elles." The similarity between these fanatics and the ravers of the Reformation did not escape the observation of this writer. "Rien," he says, "ne nous parait plus propre à faire juger les Carpocratiens de la Cyrenaïque que les anabaptistes de Munster."

Page 207.

In the sermons published by the Executors of Dr. Crisp, one of the founders of Antinomianism in England, it is asserted, (on the authority of the text, "He hath made him to be sin for us,") that Christ was actually Sin itself!

Page 226.

"*Dispositions of Luther towards the Jews.*"

Severam deinde sententiam adversus eos promit, censetque, synagogas illorum funditus destruendas, domos quoque diruendas, libros precationum et Talmudicos omnes . . . . . immo et ipsos sacros codices Veteris Testamenti, quia illis tam malé utunter, auferendos, &c. &c.—*Seckendorf. Comm. de Luth. lib.* 3, *sect.* 27.

Such was the tolerance of this champion of Private Judgment! Even Seckendorf thinks it right to affix a brand of disapprobation to such sentiments:—"Acria hæc sunt, et quæ approbationem non invenerunt."

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The ministers of Geneva, in their Declaration in answer to D'Alembert's Article *Geneve*, in the Encyclopédie, said that they had for Jesus Christ "*plus que due respect.*"

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"*Negative code of Christianity.*"

"The greatest unity the Protestants have, is not in believing, but in not believing; in knowing rather what they are against than what they are for; not so much in knowing

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what they would have, as in knowing what they would not have. But let these negative Religions take heed they meet not with a negative Salvation."—*Marquis of Worcester's Paper in his Conference with Charles I. at Ragland.*

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Boxhornius, the grandfather of the celebrated Marcus Zuerius, was also one of those who gave up the Church for a wife, at the time of the Reformation. "Lorsqu'il fût question (says Baillet) de prendre une femme à la place de son Breviaire, et de se rendre hommes de qualité, il se dit de la Maison de Boxhorns, noblesse connue dans le Brabant."—*Anti-Cuyckius.*

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As the almost incredible grossness of this scene at the Black Bear, might well induce some suspicion as to my friend's fidelity in describing it, I think it right to extract the passage of Hospinian from which he has taken his account:—"Tandem hinc inde multis inter ipsos permutatis sermonibus exacerbato utrinque animo Lutherus Carlostadium ut contra se publicè scribat, invitat. Simul ex concitato isto animi fervore aureum nummum extractum ex pera ipsi offert, inquiens, 'En accipe, et quantum potes animosè contra me dimica. Age, verò, vergas in me alacriter.' Quod etsi recusaret primùm Carlostadius, et rem cognitioni piæ permittendam moneret ac peteret, tandem, cum urgeretur, hunc aureum nummum accepturum se respondit, eumque omnibus astantibus ostendens, dixit 'En, chari fratres, istud est signum et arrabo, quod potestatem acceperim contra doctorem Lutherum scribendi. Rogo itaque vos, ut ejus rei testes esse velitis.' Cumque aureum nummum marsupio suo recondidisset, Luthero manum in sponsionem pactæ et susceptæ contentionis porrexit, pro cujus confirmatione Lutherus ipsi vicissim haustum vini propinavit, adhortans eum, ne sibi parceret, sed quantò vehementius et animosius contra se ageret, tantò illum sibi chariorem futurum." *Hist. Sacram. Pars Altera, de prima origine Certaminis Sacramentarii.*

Hospinian adds, "Hæc te, Christiane lector, fuerunt infelicissimi istius Certaminis, quod ex pacto et sponsione susceptum, tot jam annis Ecclesiam gravissimè exercuit, infausta auspicia."

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The following is a specimen of the views of Zanchius on this head:—"Damus reprobos necessitate peccandi eoque et pereundi ex hac Dei ordinatione constringi, atque ita con-

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stringi, ut neque aut non peccare et perire."—"We grant that reprobates are constrained by a necessity of sinning, and therefore, of perishing through this ordination of God, and that they are constrained in such a manner as to be unable to do otherwise than sin and perish."

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"*A provision for future changes,*" *&c.*

This was entirely on the principle of the Socinians, of whose Catechism Mosheim says:—"It never obtained among them the authority of a public Confession or rule of faith; and hence the Doctors of that sect were authorized to correct and contradict it, or to substitute another form of doctrine in its place."

Accordingly, in a subsequent Edition of this Catechism published by Crellius, Schlichtingius, and the Wissowatii, some parts were altered, and others corrected.

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"Their Liturgie, (which began in the nonage reign of Edward VI. and, after some years' interruption, got stronger footing by an Act of Parliament in Queen Elizabeth's day, and so was become almost of fourscore years' prescription, half as old as one of our grandfathers) is decried, antiquated by the present Parliament, contemned by the people, and succeeded by a new thing called a Directory of four or five years' unquiet standing, which already begins to lose credit with its first acceptors."—*Dr. Carier's Motives, &c.*, 1649.

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It would appear that Antinomianism still flourishes, to a frightful extent, in England. Robert Hall, in one of his Sermons, says, "While Antinomianism is making rapid strides through the land, and has already convulsed and disorganized so many of our churches." A recent writer, too, in speaking of Dr. Hawkins, who, like the founder of the English Antinomians, Dr. Crisp, belongs to the Church of England, says, "his books and converts have infected our churches as with a kind of pestilence, and are perverting the minds of multitudes within the pale of the establishment."—*James on Dissent.*

Few have laid open more powerfully than does the illustrious Grotius the baleful workings of the Calvinistic doctrine. His opponent, Rivetus, having complained that there was no longer the means of providing fit and proper ministers

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for the Consistories, Grotius remarks, that in the Churches of former times, though there were not then so many rich people as among the followers of Rivetus, there was yet an abundant supply for all such purposes;—the doctrine of imputed justice having not yet chilled their hearts to charity and good works:—"Cur ergo illa necessaria nunc minus suppetunt? Quia non docentur nunc ea de necessitate ac dignatione operum liberalitatis et misericordiæ quæ olim docebantur. Justitia imputata frigus injecit et plebi et plebis ducibus."—*In Rivet. Apolog. Discuss.* Of the doctrine of Perseverance, Grotius truly says, "Nullum potuit in Christianismum induci dogma perniciosius quam hoc." He adds, "None of the ancients taught this doctrine; none of them would have borne its being taught"—Hoc nemo veterum docuit; nemo docentem tulisset.—*In Animadv. pro suis ad Cassandrum notis.* By Beza it was held that David even when polluted with adultery and homicide, did not lose the Holy Spirit, nor the less continue to be a man after God's own heart:—"Non desiit tamen tunc temporis esse vir secundum cor Dei."

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J'ai voulu indiquer comment les croyances Protestantes ont dû disparôitre toutes, et laisser la religion vacantes dans leurs contrées respectives.....J'ai la conscience intime d'avoir écrit sans passion et je donne comme résultat certain, d'après mes recherches et mes méditations la disposition totale du Protestantisme. Il n'y a réellement, plus de Lutheriens ni de Calvinistes: il n'y a plus de mystiques dans les rangs des Réformés; il ne s'y trouve même plus de Sociniens; on n'y reconnôit qu'une masse de sentimens confus composés de raisonnemens et de sensations indefinées.

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"Roman Catholics (says Plowden) rejoice to find such honour done to their doctrine of submitting private to the Church's public interpretations of the Scriptures, when the Vigornian prelate (Hurd) puts St. Augustine's words to the Manichæans into the mouth of his deceased friend (Warburton) to strike dumb and confound some modern *free interpreters of the Word*—'Ye who believe what you will in the Gospel and disbelieve what you will, assuredly believe not the Gospel itself, but yourselves only.'"

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In addition to the difficulties thrown in the way of a clear understanding of the Scriptures, by the incorrectness of

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translators, by false punctuation, &c. &c. are to be taken into account also such corruptions of the meaning of the text as may have arisen from design. Thus, in an edition printed in 166, the verse in Acts vi. 3, referring to the choosing of Deacons, stands thus, "Wherefore brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom *ye* may appoint over this business," instead of "*we* may appoint,"—an alteration, intended it is supposed, for the purpose of establishing the people's power, not only in electing but also ordaining their ministers. A misrepresentation of the meaning of Scripture for a like covert purpose, occurs in the quarto Bible printed in Queen Anne's time, 1708, where the heading or contents prefixed to the 149th Psalm run thus: "The Prophet exhorteth to praise God for his love to the Church and for that power which he hath given to the Church *to rule the consciences of men.*" This innovation on the edition of 1614, (where the heading is, "An exhortation to the Church to praise the Lord for his victory and conquest that he giveth his saints against all man's power") was supposed to have been introduced by the partisans of the Stuarts, for the purpose of sanctioning their arbitrary principles.

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By no writer have the difficulties of expounding Scripture been set forth, with more alarming force, than by the great Jeremy Taylor himself, in the following passage of his Liberty of Prophesying:—"Since there are so many copies (of Scripture) with infinite variations of reading; since a various interpunction, a parenthesis, a letter, an accent, may much alter the sense; since some places have divers literal senses, may have spiritual, mystical and allegorical meanings; since there are so many tropes, metonymies, ironies, hyperboles, proprieties and improprieties of language, whose understanding depends upon such circumstances that it is almost impossible to know the proper interpretation .... since there are some mysteries which, at the best advantage of expression, are not easy to be apprehended, and whose explication, by reason of our imperfection, must needs be dark and sometimes unintelligible; and, lastly, since these ordinary means of expounding Scripture, as searching the originals, conference of places, parity of reason, analogy of faith, are all dubious, uncertain and very fallible, he that is the wisest and by consequence the likeliest to expound truest in all probability of reason will be very far from confidence, because every one of these, and many more, are like so many de-

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grees of improbability and incertainty, all depressing our certainty of finding out truth in such mysteries and amidst so many difficulties."—*Liberty of Prophesying sect.* 4.

Yet this is the Book, so awfully beset with difficulties, which those ineffable blockheads of the Second Reformation, in Ireland, the * * s, * * s, &c., would throw open, by wholesale, to the indiscriminate perusal of the multitude!

"St. August. Lib. de Hæres. numbereth ninety several heresies (so many Reformations were they) sprung up between Christ's time and his—i. e. in about four centuries. So many more rose between St. Augustine's days and Luther's—i. e. one hundred and eighty heresies in fifteen hundred years. Betwixt Luther's apostacy from St. Austin's rule and defection from the Catholic Church in 1517 and the year 1595 (which is but an interval of seventy-eight years) modern authors, Staphilus, Hosius, Prateolus and others do reckon two hundred and seventy new sects, all Reformations of what was some days or some hours before."—*Dr. Carier's Motives, &c.*

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The Protestant Episcopius was at least consistent when, from his persuasion of the fallibility of all modern translations, he insisted that all sorts of persons, labourers, sailors, women, &c., ought to learn Hebrew and Greek.

"Obscurity in the meaning of Scripture."

In speaking of what are called plain texts, which, as he alleges, all parties claim on their side, and much wonder that their adversaries can mistake their meaning, an acute sceptical writer says, "The plain texts, from St. Austin's days, at least in the West, were all in favour of Predestination, and upon those plain texts the Articles of our Church and all other Protestant Churches were founded. It is true in Queen Elizabeth's time there were some few among the inferior Clergy for Free-Will; but then those 'incorrigible Free-will men,' as they were called, were, by direction of the Bishop, sent to prison..... But since the Court in Charles the First's time helped to open the eyes of our divines, they, no longer blinded by their Articles, clearly see that all those plain texts are all for Free-Will."

THE END.

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